

# ENGLISH STUDIES

A JOURNAL OF ENGLISH  
LETTERS AND PHILOLOGY

Edited by  
R. W. ZANDVOORT  
With a Supplement

1935

VOLUME SEVENTEEN

===== NOS 1—6 =====

---

N.V. SWETS & ZEITLINGER - Keizersgracht 471 - AMSTERDAM

# CONTENTS

## ARTICLES

		Page
BARNOUW, A. J.,	How English was Taught in Jan van Hout's Leyden	1
CAZAMIAN, L.,	Les Périodes dans l'Histoire de la Littérature Anglaise Moderne	209
DOYLE-DAVIDSON, W.A.G.,	The Earlier English Works of Sir Thomas More	49
FIRTH, J. R.,	The Use and Distribution of Certain English Sounds	8
VAN KRANENDONK, A. G.,	New Methods for the Study of Literature	129
READ, A. W.,	Amphi-Atlantic English	161
STEADMAN JR., J. M.,	Language Taboos of American College Students	81

## REVIEWS

Bäck, H.,	The Synonyms for <i>Child, Boy, Girl</i> in Old English (K. MALONE)	225
Bald, R. C.,	Literary Friendships in the Age of Wordsworth (J. A. FALCONER)	157
Baucke, L.,	Die Erzählkunst in Thackeray's <i>Vanity Fair</i> (F. T. WOOD)	234
Bennett, J.,	Four Metaphysical Poets (M. PRAZ)	101
Birnbaum, geb. Göhr, J.,	Die "Memoirs" um 1700 (F. T. WOOD)	234
Bredvold, L. I.,	The Intellectual Milieu of John Dryden (P. MEISSNER)	154
Chambers, E. K.,	Sir Thomas Wyatt and Some Collected Studies (M. PRAZ)	184
Craigie, W.,	The Northern Element in English Literature (J. A. FALCONER)	106
Day, L. (ed.),	The Songs of Thomas D'Urfey (F. T. WOOD)	37
Decroos, J. (tr.),	<i>Doctor Faustus</i> (B. A. P. VAN DAM)	25
Evans, B. I for,	English Poetry in the Later Nineteenth Century (P. DE REUL)	42
Fagin, Brylion N.,	William Bartram, Interpreter of the American Landscape (H. LÜDEKE)	107

Gover, J. E. B., Mawer, A., & Stenton, F. M.,	The Place-Names of Northamptonshire (J. MANSION)	Page 147
Grierson, H. J. C., & Bullough, G.,	The Oxford Book of Seventeenth Century Verse (M. PRAZ)	101
Häfele, W. (ed.),	<i>Constantine the Great</i> (M. PRAZ)	31
Harvey Wood, H. (ed.),	The Plays of John Marston, Vol. I (M. PRAZ)	149
Hayward, J. (ed.),	Swift, <i>Gulliver's Travels</i> , and Selected Writings in Prose and Verse (M. PRAZ)	228
Herford, C. H., & Simpson, P. (edd.),	Ben Jonson. Vol. IV (M. PRAZ)	31
Kahn, L. W.,	Shakespeares Sonette in Deutschland (J. DECROOS)	185
Kar, G.,	Thoughts on the Mediaeval Lyric (M. PRAZ)	184
Kieckers, E.,	Altenglische Grammatik (R. W. ZANDVOORT)	222
Krebs, K.,	Der Bedeutungswandel van ME. <i>Clerk</i> (C. VAN SPAENDONCK)	73
De Lange, J.,	The Relation and Development of English and Icelandic Outlaw-Traditions (K. MALONE)	227
Langenfelt, G.,	Select Studies in Colloquial English of the Late Middle Ages (W. VAN DER GAAP)	96
Lloyd James, A.,	The Broadcast Word (J. KOOISTRA)	76
Leishman, J. B.,	The Metaphysical Poets (M. PRAZ)	101
Marinoff, I.,	Neue Wertungen im englischen Roman (R. HOOPS)	79
Matthes, H. C.,	Die Einheitlichkeit des Ormmulum (E. EKWALL)	71
Mincoff, M. K.,	Die Bedeutungsentwicklung der ags. Ausdrücke für <i>Kraft</i> und <i>Macht</i> (J. DANIELS)	22
Mitchell, R. E.,	America. A Practical Handbook (R. W. ZANDVOORT)	189
Nangle, B. C.,	The Monthly Review, First Series (F. T. WOOD)	237
Nichol Smith, D.,	The Letters of Jonathan Swift to John Ford (M. PRAZ)	228
Olivero, F.,	Studi Britannici (F. T. WOOD)	40
Palmer, P. M.,	Der Einfluss der Neuen Welt auf den Deutschen Wortschatz (G. KIRCHNER)	186
Plessow, G. L.,	Das Amerikanische Kurzschauspiel zwischen 1910 und 1930 (L. VILLARD)	108
Renzulli, M.,	La Poesia di Shelley (F. T. WOOD)	40
Rossi, M. M., & Hone, J. M.,	Swift, or The Egotist (M. PRAZ)	228
South, H. P.,	The Proverbs of Alfred (W. VAN DER GAAP)	23
Spargo, J. W.,	Virgil the Necromancer (M. PRAZ)	182
Straumann, H.,	Newspaper Headlines (J. R. FIRTH)	111
Trounce, A. Mcl. (ed.),	<i>Athelston</i> , A Middle English Romance (M. S. SERJEANTSON)	100

	Page
Timmer, B. J.,	Studies in Bishop Wærferth's Translation of the Dialogues of Gregory the Great (J. DANIELS) 224
Vander Veen, H. R. S.,	Jewish Characters in Eighteenth Century English Fiction and Drama (F. T. WOOD) 232
White, H. O. (ed.),	The Works of Thomas Purney (F. T. WOOD) 38
Willey, B.,	The Seventeenth Century Background (P. MEISSNER) 34
Winkelmann, E.,	Coleridge und die Kantische Philosophie (M. PRAZ) 238
Wünsche, W.,	Die Staatsauffassung Samuel Taylor Coleridges (M. PRAZ) 238
Zunder, T. A.,	The Early Days of Joel Barlow (H. LÜDEKE) 155

## MISCELLANEOUS

### Current Letters: New Series

I. Fiction, Drama and Poetry (F. T. WOOD)	115
II. Criticism and Biography (F. T. WOOD)	192

### Notes and News

Barnouw, A. J., *Dutch*, 19. — Decroos, J., & Van Dam, B. A. P., *Correspondentie*, 91. — Firth, J. R., *The Second International Congress of Phonetic Sciences*, 179. — Jespersen, O., & Vander Gaaf, W., *Correspondence*, 141. — Kirchner, G., *To Feed* (tr.v.), *Construed with Various Objects and Prepositions*, 217. — Malone, K., *Herlekin and Herlewin*, 141. — Stroup, T. B., *Jones, C. Keatsiana*, 144.

A-Examen 1934, 19. — B-Examen 1934, 20, 95. — *Current Letters*, 21. — *American Studies*, 21. — *English and American Literature*, 95. — *Congress of Literary History*, 146.

### Brief Mention

43, 80, 158, 204, 240

### Bibliography

44, 123, 159 206

## How English was Taught in Jan van Hout's Leyden

Jacob Walraven, of Hoorn, to whom Coornhert, in 1582, dedicated his *Comedie vande Rijckeman*, belonged to the literary circle of Jan van Hout. The little that we know about him has been brought to light by Dr. J. Prinsen.<sup>1</sup> But the chief source for our knowledge about Walraven is a little book from his pen that has escaped Prinsen's research. He knew of its existence, though, for in the inventory of the household goods left by Claes Buyster Claeszn, *Pedellus* of the University of Leyden, he found listed a copy of *Tbouxken Walraven vande eerbaerheyt des soldeniers*.<sup>2</sup> It was not so simple a matter, however, to discover a copy of this edition, since the few that have survived are all catalogued under the name Whetstone (George), of whose tract *The Honourable Reputation of a Souldier* Walraven's booklet is a reprint and translation. The British Museum, the Cambridge University Library, Sir R. L. Harmsworth, and the Huntington Library at San Marino, Cal., each possess a copy of Walraven's unique publication. On a visit to California, in the summer of 1933 I had occasion to inspect the Huntington copy, thanks to the kind permission of Dr. Max Farrand, Director of the Huntington Library.

Walraven has dedicated his slender volume to the Burgomasters, Magistrates and Council of the city of Hoorn.<sup>3</sup> In his address to the City fathers and in the preface to the text that follows, the author has told us more about himself than may be gleaned from the documents in the archives. He was thirty-five years old when he went to Leyden, and since he registered as a student of philology and law on November 9, 1579, he must have been born about 1544. He had evidently been employed until then in some commercial capacity, for he speaks about experience gained in Antwerp, Spain, France, and Eastland, that is, the countries around the Baltic, where he had known many merchants who spoke several foreign languages with as much ease as their native tongue. He gave up his business career and came to Leyden to study Latin, for it annoyed him to hear it spoken without being able to understand it. In Hoorn, his native city, gossips and backbiters were saying that his studies in Leyden were only a cloak for his indolence and dissipation. But he let the slanderers talk, trusting that the future would justify him. Five years, however, elapsed before he brought proof of his industry by the publication of this volume. Two other translations which he undertook had come to naught. He had planned to render from Greek into Dutch the ten Sermons on Providence by Theodoretus, Bishop of Cyropolis, but never completed more than the first, and later on he had begun to translate

<sup>1</sup> *Album opgedragen aan Prof. Dr. J. Vercoullie II*, 218-222; *Ned. Biogr. WB.* VIII, 1307.

<sup>2</sup> *Ts. Mij. Letterk.* 32, 193.

<sup>3</sup> *Den Eerzamen, Wijzen zeer Voorzienige Heeren, den Schoutet, Burgermeesteren, Schepenen, ende Raedt der Stede Hoorn*. The book was published "Tot Leyden, by Jan Paedts Jacobszoon, ende Jan Bouwenszoon. Anno M.D.LXXXVI. Men vintse te coop by Thomas Basson Boeckvercopper / woonende tot Leyden opte breede-stræet / by de Blauwe Steen."

*De Constantia* by J. Lipsius, which had then just issued from the press. But a rival, J. Moerentorf<sup>4</sup>, had taken the wind out of his sails.

Walraven prefixed to his translation of Whetstone's little treatise an account of how he came to study English. He had made the acquaintance, at Leyden, of an English nobleman who belonged to the suite of the Earl of Leicester. His name was G. Broock, to retain the spelling that Walraven gave it. Walraven had studied English in Antwerp, but that was fifteen years back, and he did not remember enough to carry on a conversation with his English friend. They conversed, therefore, in Latin, and instructed one another in that language, Walraven teaching Brooke French and Brooke giving him lessons in English. When Brooke had to leave Leyden, Walraven found another teacher in Thomas Basson, an Englishman who ran a bookshop near the *Blauwe Steen* on the *Breestraat*. Three others joined the class: Jan van Hout, the secretary of the city of Leyden, the *Schout* F. van Brouhoven, and Jonkheer Jan van der Does Jr. (Janus Douza filius). The five met every day for an hour's lesson. Walraven does not tell us what they read together. It was, perhaps, Whetstone's *Honourable Reputation of a Souldier*. The little book was intended by the author for the edification and guidance of the English soldiers in the Netherlands, and that purpose accounts for Walraven's decision to turn it into an English primer for Dutch students.

The presence of so many English officers and soldiers in the Netherlands was a windfall for the Dutch tradespeople. But the business of buying and selling was hampered by their ignorance of the English language. In Antwerp and on the isle of Walcheren the Netherlands, says Walraven, spoke French, for the benefit of the many French and Walloon refugees. That was both gracious and profitable. For everyone likes to make his purchases where he can speak his own language and be readily understood. In the same way the English rose-nobles would flow into the pockets of those tradesmen who could deal with the foreign customer in his own speech. And Walraven's booklet was to help them to a knowledge of the customer's tongue.

It gives Whetstone's text in black-letter and the Dutch rendering in Roman type in parallel columns, and since the word order is not always the same in the two languages, the translator has marked with Arabic figures those words in the Dutch text that do not occupy the same place in the English sentence. Thus the student can easily find the equivalent of every word in the opposite column.

Walraven seems to have thought that the different word order was the chief difficulty for a Hollander studying English. Nowhere does he warn his readers that the vowel symbols represent different sound values. This is the more surprising as he was acquainted with Sir Thomas Smith's famous *Dialogue on the Correct and Improved Spelling of the English Language*.<sup>5</sup> He has, indeed, added an appendix under the title *English Pronovnciation: or a Short Introdvction and Waye to the English speache, very fitte for all those that intende to learne the same*, but this manual, which he has also

<sup>4</sup> Better known by his Latinized name, Johannes Moretus, son-in-law of the famous printer and publisher Plantijn. His Dutch translation of Lipsius' *De Constantia* came from the press in 1584.

<sup>5</sup> *De Recta et Emendata Linguae Anglicae Scriptione Dialogus* (1568). Reprinted by Dr. Otto Deibel in *Neudr. Frühneuengl. Gramm.* Bd. 8, Halle, 1913.

translated and printed in parallel columns, is, in spite of its name, not a key to the pronunciation, as it does not interpret the symbols. It follows the method described in *Ludus Literarius, or the Grammar schoole*<sup>6</sup>, an English spelling book of 1627: "Teach them to put the consonants in order before every vowel and to repeat them oft over together — as thus: to begin with b, and to say ba, be, bi, bo, bu. So d — da, de, di, do, du; f — fa, fe, fi, fo, fu. Thus teach them to say all the rest, as it were sounding them together — la, le, li, lo, lu; the hardest to the last, as ca, ce, ci, co, cu, and ga, ge, gi, go, gu, in which the sound is a little changed in the second and third syllables." A similar method of singsong spelling instruction was in vogue in Dutch schools and lingered on into the nineteenth century: "b en een a ba, b en een e be, b en een i bi, ba be bi; b en een o bo, ba be bi bo; b en een u bu, ba be bi bo bu."

Walraven's speller is divided into four Books. The first teaches the ABC and combinations of single consonants with vowels. The second continues this instruction and differs from the first only in that the sound combinations are longer and harder to pronounce. The student is not told that only very few of these form actual words of the English vocabulary. The warning was, indeed, superfluous for children who were born to the language, but the Hollander who could not speak a word of English must have received a queer impression of the Briton's speech, when he was taught to pronounce rows of syllables such as these:

cha	che	chi	cho	chu
chab	cheb	chib	chob	chub
chalb	chelb	chilb	cholb	chulb
chamb	chemb	chimb	chomb	chumb
charb	cherb	chirb	chorb	churb

It looks as if the English schoolmaster who compiled this catalogue did his best to form the greatest possible number of monosyllables that had no meaning in the language. He proceeded, perhaps, on the theory that the child who had learned to spell these monstrous fictions would have no difficulty with the actual vocabulary. But the Dutchman who was informed by Walraven, "Also it is to be noted, that sometyme e vanisheth away in pronunciation, and maketh the syllable long, as may appeare by e in the ende of these syllables," must have been prepared to read a list of words taken from the English dictionary. Here is a selection from the samples of mute final e indicating length of the preceding syllable:

cace	cece	cice	coco	cuce
lale	lele	lile	lolo	lule
mame	meme	mime	mome	mume
vave	veve	vive	vove	vuve

In the chapter at the end of Book II, on the English diphthongs, by which the writer meant vowel sounds spelled with two symbols, the examples are all taken from among words that actually exist. But here again the reader is left in the dark as to the correct pronunciation. *Eye*, *eyght*, and *feire* are grouped together as examples of the same "diphthong"; *heir* and *heigh*,

<sup>6</sup> See A. W. Tuer, *History of the Horn Book*, p. 290.

*laugh and law, floure and foure, beast and bread, heaven and earth* are paired as if their vowel sounds were twins.

In the third Book "for to pronounce whole wordes of twoo, three, and more syllables," all the examples are real words, to which Walraven has added the meaning in Dutch, but never the key to their pronunciation in English. His spelling book follows the tradition of the old Horn Book and the Dutch *Haneboek* in that it appends to the word lists a number of devotional texts, which together make up a little reader: "Let the Scholer, being thus traded,<sup>7</sup> from letters to syllables of one consonant: from syllables of one consonant to syllables of many consonants: from syllables of many consonants, to wordes of twoo, three, and more syllables: then proceede, for to reade whole and perfecte Sentences: to whose use and profit, wee have put some here: which reading, he maye bothe to gether learne, and exercise him selfe in the feare of God, beginning of all wisdom." This reader makes up the fourth Book, and contains the Lord's Prayer, the Twelve Articles of the Christian Faith, the Ten Commandments, the 3rd and 127th Psalms in prose, the 127th and 130th Psalms in rhyming verse, and, in conclusion, two prayers for the Queen's Majesty and for "beautifulnesse of understanding." The student who had persevered to that edifying end certainly needed enlightenment of his reason.

Walraven realized that the knowledge which his primer imparted needed to be supplemented by oral instruction, either from a schoolmaster or from some Englishman who was a boarder in the student's home. These people, he says, be they noblemen, servants, or soldiers, were very willing to teach one, as Walraven himself experienced. For he found two noblemen who were staying in his house only too eager to instruct him, on condition that he should teach them Dutch in return, which they were very anxious to learn.<sup>8</sup>

In reprinting Whetstone's text Walraven followed the English edition to the letter, being guided in this matter by the English poet Geoffrey Whitney, who in that same year 1586 happened to be in Leyden to see his book of emblems through the press. This volume, a beautiful quarto "imprinted at Leyden, in the house of Christopher Plantijn, by Francis Raphelengius" appeared in 1586. The dedication to the Earl of Leicester is dated "at London the XXVIII. of Nouember, Anno M.D.LXXXV," but the preface to the reader "at Leyden in Hollande, the III. of Maye, M.D.LXXXVI." Walraven, therefore, must have made Whitney's acquaintance in the spring of 1586 or in the preceding winter. He probably met him through his friend G. Brooke. For Brooke was also a friend of Whitney's. The latter dedicated one of his emblems "to George Brooke Esquier",<sup>9</sup> and another bears the inscription "To G. B. Esquier."<sup>10</sup> The identity of George Brooke has not been definitely established. Henry Green, in his facsimile edition of Whitney's book,<sup>11</sup> assumes that he was one of the Cheshire Brookes, as these were related to the Whitneys. Geoffrey had a brother who bore the name Brooke. A Thomas Brooke of Norton, Cheshire, was Sheriff in 1578 and 1592; he had a son George, who was drowned in Warrington Water. Since this George

<sup>7</sup> For this use of *trade* in the sense of "to train", see *NED*, i.v. *trade*, v. † 4.

<sup>8</sup> "mits dat ick haer ooc het Duytsch pronunceerde, waerna zy begeerich haken," p. 75.

<sup>9</sup> *Choice of Emblemes*, p. 69.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 141.

<sup>11</sup> London: Lovell Reeve & Co., 1866.

was a relative of Whitney and of the same age, Mr. Green thought it likely that he was the George Brooke to whom the emblem on page 69 is dedicated. But if that assumption is correct, G. B. Esquier, to whom the poem on page 141 is inscribed, cannot be identical with this George Brooke. For G.B.'s father was also called G.B., as appears from the inscription of the emblem on page 143 "to G.B. sen. Esquier."

The eulogies that are prefixed to Whitney's *Choice of Emblemes* and some of the dedications of his poems can help us to reconstruct the circle in which Whitney moved during his residence in Leyden. He knew Janus Douza, both father<sup>12</sup> and son, Raphelengius,<sup>13</sup> Justus Lipsius, Bonaventura Vulcanius,<sup>14</sup> and Petrus Colvius.<sup>15</sup> Vulcanius' Latin poem is interesting because of its reference to the poetry of Chaucer, the earliest mention of the poet that has appeared in print in the Netherlands. England, says Vulcanius, has brought forth two singers called Geoffrey: Fame has proclaimed one the Homer of his country, the other deserves to be called the English Hesiodus.<sup>16</sup>

It goes without saying that Whitney, in this circle, spoke nothing but Latin. Walraven refers to him as *den wel-gheleerden Edelen Heere Galfrido Whytneo*. It is surprising that an enthusiast for the study of English, in a book that was intended to promote that study, should mention an Englishman by his latinized name. Even Walraven was evidently so accustomed to converse with him in Latin that *Galfridus Whytneus* was the only name he knew him by. The title of *wel-gheleerde Edele Heer* seems to characterize the relationship between the two men. Walraven felt like a self-conscious schoolboy in the company of the learned Briton and man of the world. He must have been flattered by the laudatory poem that Whitney wrote for his English-Dutch primer. As it is not included among "The Writings of Whitney" which Mr. Green has collected in the Introduction to his facsimile reprint of the emblems, it may find a place here.

Vppon the Translacion of this Present Booke

Geffrey Whitney

To the Frendlye Readers of either of the languages.

That worke which first did Whetstone take in hande,  
Where, famous actes in Englishe he dothe tutche:

Walraven, lo, for loue to natieue lande,

To those, that please, presents the same in dutche:

And bothe the workes, in one, wee maye decerne:

That either lande, eche others tonge may learne.

<sup>12</sup> Among the panegyrics prefixed to Douza's *Odorum Britannicarum Liber*, which appeared at Leyden in 1586, is one by Galfredus Whitney. Kalfé inferred from this that Douza's fame had spread to England: "Onopgemerkt bleef zijn persoon in Engeland blijkbaar niet." It is not impossible that he was known in London, for he had been there in 1585 at the head of a diplomatic mission, but Whitney's praise cannot prove it.

<sup>13</sup> Son-in-law of Plantijn and director of his Leyden printing house.

<sup>14</sup> Bonaventura de Smet, a native of Bruges, who was Professor of Greek in the university.

<sup>15</sup> Pieter Colve, also from Bruges. He was not yet twenty years old in 1586, but had, at that early age, made a name for himself as a classical scholar.

<sup>16</sup> Una duos genuit Galfridos Anglia Vates, / Nomine, Phoebaeo numine, & arte pares. / Unum, Fama suae patriae indigitavit Homerum, / Anglicus hic merito dicitur Hesiodus.

Where, all that will, maye see for their delighte,  
 What great renoume, was erst, by vertues wroughte :  
 And what, alone, did Greekes, and Latines write,  
 These labours here, into our tonges haue broughte :  
 Yea, what fewe knewe, and neare, throughe age, was dead,<sup>17</sup>  
 Is nowe of all, in Dutche and Englishe redd.

A woorthie worke, for Martiall men to see :  
 Which shewes, what praise of prowes great dothe springe :  
 And, to that ende, heere, rare examples bee,  
 Of Romanes bouldre, whose fame now freshe dothe ringe,  
 And are reuiu'd, for euerie man to knowe :  
 Though they weare turn'd to poulder, longe agoe.

Then when you reape the fruites of this their stile  
 Good Readers all, giue them their praises due :  
 To Whetstone first, who did the worke compile,  
 Walraven, next, that turn'd the same for you,  
 Whose paines (I knowe) was ioyn'd with care of minde :  
 Eche phrase to fitte, and worde for worde to finde.

That, wee might learne to vnderstande the dutche,  
 And you likewise the Englishe might perceiue,  
 Lo, his intent, which sure deserueth mutche,  
 Then giue him praise, or else his right you reauē  
 So shall you, bothe his paines, in parte, requite :  
 And stirre him vp, some greater worke to write.

FFare well.

Walraven's translation of Whetstone's tract shows a fairly good knowledge of English. The majority of his misrenderings are due to his reliance on Latin or French. *Presently*, e.g., is repeatedly rendered by *tegenwoordich*, where the meaning is *weldra* or *vervolgens*. He takes to *injury* to mean what it means in French, i.e., to wound with words, and translates it with *schelden*. *Indifferent*, used by Whetstone in the sense of *impartial*, is literally rendered with *onverschillend*. There are few words of Anglo-Saxon origin that he has misunderstood. He probably consulted his friend Basson as to their meaning, but trusted to his knowledge of French and Latin in guessing the meaning of words of Romance origin. In a few cases he guessed absolutely wrong, as when he renders *infamous* with *befaemd*, and connects the verb to *pamper* with Dutch *pa(m)pier*, turning *pampered and delicate bodies* into *papieren ende teere lichamen*. But the number of such mistakes is comparatively small. When one sees what howlers occur in modern translations and compares the wealth of dictionaries at our disposal with the scarcity of such aids to the translator in Walraven's time, one must conclude that he was well equipped to perform his task and did so with painstaking accuracy.

In a brief address *To the Gentle Reader and Lover of the Dutche Tonge*, Walraven confesses himself to be "entangled with love" of the English tongue. As one of the first in the Netherlands to arouse an interest in the study of English, he deserves our attention. He had no notion of how to write a grammar, and he modestly disclaimed any merit as a teacher. "Accept this book as from a fellow student," he asks his readers, "and let us see what a more experienced teacher will give us hereafter." As far as I know, no other English primer appeared during his lifetime. The Dutch public had to wait until 1648 for an English-Dutch Dictionary, and between the publication of

<sup>17</sup> The text has: *throughe agew, as dead*.

Walraven's booklet and the appearance of Hexham's volume no guide to the study of English has, to my knowledge, followed in Walraven's footsteps. This lack of handbooks may explain the scarcity of *De Eerwaardighe Achtbaerheyt van een Soldener*. The entire edition has evidently been studied to shreds. One of the four extant copies, that in the British Museum, bears the signature of John Robinson. When the English separatists settled in Leyden, Walraven's book must have been his sole aid in the study of Dutch.

In England, too, the little volume must have been used by students of our language. It is probably not an accident that three of the four copies that have survived are preserved in English libraries, and the Huntington copy was also acquired in England. Walraven's contention that the English were eager to learn Dutch was probably not exaggerated. Shakespeare's contemporaries did not yet affect that supercilious contempt of everything that was not English which, having become a fashion in the eighteenth century, found concise expression in Dr. Johnson's dictum, "Foreigners are fools." According to Jacob Walraven, the English and the Dutch were the only people in Europe who, when traveling abroad, did not expect to be served and obeyed in their native speech. On the contrary, he says, they were proud of their fluency in several languages. Richard Carew, a contemporary of Walraven, and author of an *Epistle concerning the Excellency of the English Tongue*,<sup>18</sup> called his countrymen the best linguists of Europe. "A straunger though never soe long conversant amongst us carryeth evermore a watch woorde vpon his tongue to descrye him by, but turne ann Inglishmann at any time of his age into what countrey soever, allowing him dew respite, and you shall see him perfitt soe well that the imitation of his utterance will in nothing differ from the patterne of that native Language." That, of course, was claiming too much. Carew could easily notice the mistakes in a foreigner's English, but his ear was less sensitive to the flaws in an Englishman's French or Dutch. We have to accept his statement with a grain of salt. But that it pleased him to boast of the Briton's linguistic talent confirms Walraven's testimony that the English of his day were eager to study foreign languages and sought the means of acquiring a knowledge of Dutch.

Columbia University,  
New York.

A. J. BARNOUW.

---

<sup>18</sup> See G. Gregory Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, II, 289.

# The Use and Distribution of Certain English Sounds

## Phonetics from a functional point of view

During the last hundred years knowledge has grown into an intricate network of sciences. There has been an ambitious multiplication of specialised techniques. Things are studied from so many special points of view and with such technical versatility, that wider and more comprehensive views are in danger of being crowded out.

Speech for example can be studied by all the *-ics* and *-ologies* in the polytechnic catalogue. On the purely linguistic side there is the study of usage, of grammatical forms, isolated word-mongering and all kinds of linguistic antiquarianism.

Then there is phonetics, the most specialised linguistic technique. It makes abstraction of the sounds of speech, and has been described as the science of speech sounds. Even within this already specialised field, there is further subdivision and specialisation. The experimental phonetician carries the study of "speech-sounds" (whatever that may mean) into the physicist's world of noiseless motion. The "pure" phonetician collects, describes and classifies "sounds" as such, rather like a stamp-collector. His great thrill is the discovery of a "new sound". Or he may be likened to a letter-sorter with a set of pigeon-holes labelled off with symbols, to mark the destination of sounds from all over the world. Then there are the more practical technicians who teach people to recognise and make speech sounds, or who can be relied on as skilled transcriptionists.

The "broader" phoneticians and the new phonologists have also branched off to develop their own specialised techniques. Though differing in method, and to some extent in general principles, they agree at any rate on one fundamental principle, that the phonetic analysis of a language does not consist in merely "collecting" the sounds, and placing them in universal descriptive phonetic pigeon-holes with a specially appropriate letter attached to them, but rather in placing them as "terms", as integral parts of the whole phonological system of the given language. The technique of the new school of phonologists is rather in the nature of systematology — but it is all to the good as a definite move in the direction of integrative studies, more pragmatic, more functional, more "linguistic"; and in the long run, likely to lead to more valuable scientific results than the narrower and more abstract phonetics. Abstract, because being "pan-glossic", it can only place sounds as such, in universal categories and attach symbols to them. It is purely descriptive and non-linguistic, since it ignores phonological structure and function.

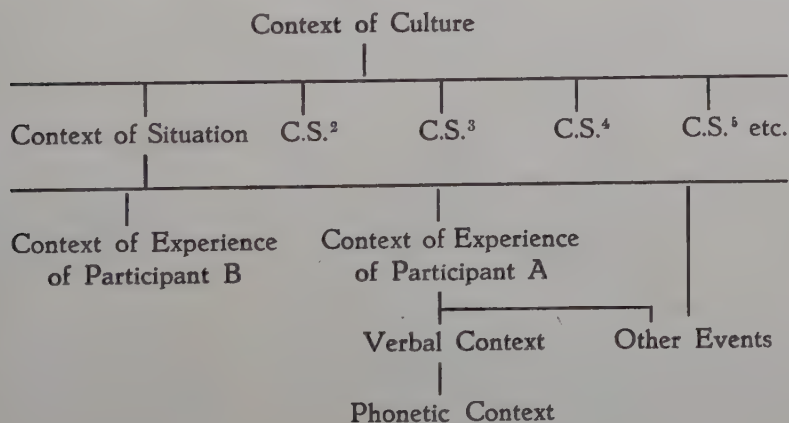
"Phonology" is what might be called "systemic" phonetics. The "phonologist" does not merely collect sounds, he establishes the necessary phonetic distinctions in a given form of speech, and so gives each sound a place in the whole phonetic structure or system. Thus the linguistic value of any sound or sound-attribute is dependent on certain other sounds and indirectly on all the sounds of the given language. In English there is a distinction between *p* and *b*, or in other words the phonetic values of *p* and *b* are interdependent.

Since the publication of a previous article <sup>1</sup>, I have had several opportunities of exchanging views with colleagues of the Prague School and other European linguists, more especially in the Language section of the recent International Congress of Anthropological Sciences <sup>2</sup>, and I now think that this systemic or phonological analysis of the sounds of a language is not inconsistent with my own behaviouristic method of contextualisation, but is possibly another way of establishing what I would call Minor Function.

For his philosophy the linguist need go no further than the second chapter of Genesis. The reign of Adam began when the rest of God's creation was submitted to him to be named. He was given a voice in the world which continues to work wonders. And every child of Adam ever since, has entered into his lordship of Creation by wielding the magic power of his voice. Every baby quickly learns the magic action of his voice, and the answering magic of his fellows. It may make him feel better, it may make him feel worse. A noise, an answering noise, and "hey presto" he either gets what he wants or what he deserves. This phonetic magic which makes things happen and which so cogently compels people to do things, is our first and most important initiation in humanity, and the first and most fundamental language lesson we learn. That is what language really means to us — a way of doing things, of getting things done, a way of behaving and making others behave, a way of life. Through all the generations of man this magic is handed on — it continues to work wonders.

We can only arrive at some understanding of *how* it works, if we establish with certainty that the facts of speech we are studying can be observed or regarded in actual patterns of behaviour. We must take our facts from speech sequences, verbally complete in themselves and operating in contexts of situation which are typical, recurrent and repeatedly observable. Such contexts of situation should themselves be "placed" in categories of some sort, sociological and linguistic, within the wider context of culture.

The process of contextualisation may be suggested by the following table :



<sup>1</sup> "Linguistics and the Functional Point of View", *English Studies*, February 1934.

<sup>2</sup> See *Proceedings of the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences*, London 1935, and *Man*, September 1934.

The progressive contextualisation of linguistic facts in this way places them in actual working conditions or use, rather than in systems, and therefore establishes what I would call their Major Function.

We may admit the value of a purely systematological or structural analysis of the sounds of a given form of speech as a kind of "systemic" phonetics establishing what I would call the minor functions of sounds.

Nevertheless a pragmatic functionalism seems to me to lead to much clearer definition, and to the statement and explanation of facts without having to postulate a whole body of doctrine in an elaborate mental structure such as is derived from de Saussure.

The description and explanation of our facts by the simple process of contextualisation, the distinction between minor and major functions, and the further subdivision of major functions into morphological, syntactical, lexical, semantic etc., seem to me fundamentally sound in the present state of our knowledge and for future progress in harmony with prevailing ideas.

To illustrate these contexts and functions let us take the vowels of present day southern English. It would be possible for a foreign phonetician entirely ignorant of English, and therefore of the major functions of the sounds, to identify all the English vowels and show that each one is a term in a twenty-one term series; in other words that the purely phonetic or minor function of each vowel, is its use in various similar contexts in contradistinction from twenty others. Taking the phonetic context of initial *b* and final *d* he would be able to observe *bi:d*, *bid*, *bed*, *bæd*, *ba:d*, *bɔ:d*, *bu:d*, *bʌd*, *bə:d*, *beid*, *boud*, *baid*, *baud*, *bɔid*, *biəd*, *bɛəd*.

Between *s* and *ks*: *si:ks*, *siks*, *seks*, *sæks*, *sɔks*, *saks*, *sə:ks*, *seiks*, *souks*, *saiks*. Between *p* and *l*: *pi:l*, *pil*, *pæl*, *pɔl*, *pɔ:l*, *pul*, *pu:l*, *pə:l*, *peil*, *poul*, *pail*. Between *h* and *d*: *hi:d*, *hid*, *hed*, *hæd*, *ha:d*, *hɔd*, *hɔ:d*, *hud*, *hə:d*, *həd* (weak form of *hæd*), *houd*, *haid*, *heəd*, and also in other purely phonetic contexts, such as initial or final position before or after certain other recognised sounds, e.g. finally after *d* and *m* for certain diphthongs: *diə*, *dɛə*, *dɔə*, *duə*; *miə*, *mɛə*, *mɔə*, *muə*.

All this could be done without taking the contextualisation process further than what I have called phonetic context. In other words you can establish the minor function of a sound merely by noting its use as one of a definite series of phonetic substitution counters in a given phonetic context.

The number of possible substitution counters (or possible alternative phonetic terms) varies considerably according to context, so that minor function is not a constant for all contexts, though in some contexts the total maximum number of terms may occur. From the above vowel contexts it will be seen that in the context *bi:d*, *i:* is used as distinct from 15 other possible substitution counters, in *pul*, *u*, in contradistinction from 11 other phonemes, in *hɔd*, the use of *ɔ* is dependent on the potential use of the other twelve alternatives. By comparison a total series of 21 terms may be established.

It may also be noted that *ə* can only occur in unstressed syllables, so that we only have a twenty-term potentiality in stressed syllables, and as *e*, *æ* and *ɔ* do not normally occur finally, only 18 in that position, and 17 for those people who use *ɔ:* in place of *ɔə*. As will be seen later, it is of the utmost importance to investigate the distribution of phoneme alternation in various contexts, or what I have termed contextual distribution.

If sounds are described, classified and explained by this statistical contextual technique, most contemporary theories of elision, coalescence and assimilation

will be seen to be confusing and, what is much more to the point, — entirely unnecessary.

To establish minor function we have only employed phonetic contexts, and it has not been found necessary to observe our sounds in functionally complete verbal contexts, much less in contexts of situation. But for the elucidation of major functions we must carry the contextualisation process much further.

The major functions of vowels can be classified as follows:

1. Situational or Semantic.
2. Lexical.
3. Morphological.
4. Phonæsthetic.

First of all what may be called situational or semantic use: *a:*, *ou*, *u:* may be functionally complete in themselves as exclamatory sentences in certain contexts of situation. Foreigners speaking English, rarely understand the exclamatory use of *ou* in certain very common contexts of situation. The vowels *i:*, *a:*, *ɔ:*, *ei*, *ou*, *ai*, *iə* and *εə*, can also be used as one-word sentences functioning by themselves in certain contexts of situation.

The lexical function of the vowels can be shown by referring to the forms in the above series of phonetic contexts (*bi:d*, *si:ks*, *pi:l*, *hi:d*, etc.), and by putting them in verbal contexts, thus establishing these sound-sequences as separate words, distinguished from one another by vowel alternation. This function should not be misnamed semantic. The vowel *ɔ:* distinguishes *bɔ:d* as a lexical substitution counter from the fifteen other words with initial *b* and final *d*, but it in no sense determines its semantic function in contexts of situation. *bɔ:d* is morphologically and semantically a neutral.<sup>3</sup> It may be either *bored*, *board* (n. or v.) or *bawd*. Other semantic neutrals in the lists are *bɑ:d* (either *bard* or *barred*), *pi:l* (*peel* or *peal*), *hə:d* (*herd*, *heard*, or a surname). But they are not neutrals as lexical substitution-counters.

Vowel alternance is also a very important morphological instrument in the strong conjugation of verbs. There are thirty vowel alternances for our babies to learn to use. Both my own children found them very much alive, and produced forms like [brʌŋ] and [pʌŋk]. There is nothing "dead" about vowel alternance in Modern English. It is, on the contrary, used in a large number, over 100, of the commonest words occurring with great frequency in the speech of quite young children. The alternances are:

1. i: , e	11. ɔ:, u:	21. ai, ʌ
2. i: , ɔ:	12. ɔ:, e	22. ai, au
3. i: , ou	13. u:, ou	23. ai, ou
4. ɪ, æ, ʌ	14. u:, i, ʌ	24. ai, ɔ:
5. i, æ	15. u:, ɔ	25. ai, ɔ
6. i, ʌ	16. ʌ, ei	26. ei, u
7. e, ɔ	17. ʌ, æ	27. ei, ou
8. e, ou	18. ai, ei	28. ou, u:
9. æ, ʌ	19. ai, u:, ou	29. ou, e
10. æ, u	20. ai, i	30. ou, ɔ
		31. εə, ɔ: <sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> This is a term I have found very useful, to refer to forms which can only be categorised morphologically and semantically by complete contextualisation. (See also a recent publication, *Newspaper Headlines*, by Dr. Heinrich Straumann. Fisher Unwin).

<sup>4</sup> See Sweet, *New English Grammar*, Part I, p. 405 seq.

Vowel alternance has morphological function in nominal forms, particles and in derivatives (e.g. *strong*, *strength*, *steal*, *stealth*). The vowels *i* and *ə*, used as suffixes, have several morphological functions, e.g. *bi:fɪ*, *dɔgi* [*doggy* (a) and *doggie* (n)], *instrʌktə*, *blækə*. By adequate contextualisation for the establishment of morphological functions alone, we could identify most of the English vowel phonemes. The following have been proved:

i:	i	e	æ	ɔ	ɔ:	u	u:
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
ʌ	ə	ei	ou	ai	au	ɛə	
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	

Then there are very interesting correlations between the occurrence of certain vowels and the characteristic contexts of experience and situation in which they are used.

For example *drip*, *drop*, *droop*, *sweep*, *swipe*, *swoop*, and other *u*: verbs like *stoop*, *scoop*, *loop*, *whoop*. There are also the uses of different vowels for near and far demonstratives, for smaller and diminutive things, and for the opposite. And may there not be something more than mere lexical differentiation in such series as:

stick, stack, stock,  
strip, strap, strop, stripe,  
slippy, and sloppy,  
snip, snap; flick, flake, fluke,

and many others which I have suggested elsewhere.<sup>5</sup> This function I have termed **phonæsthetic**.

These words also illustrate the phonæsthetic function of initial consonant groups like *st*, *str*, *sl*, *sp*, and *fl*.

The contextualisation of consonants illustrates further important theories which appear to me to explain our facts in a simpler and more comprehensive way than any other existing technique.

Let us take for example the series of plosives in the English words *pin*, *bin*, *tin*, *din*, *kin*, *gin*, (*Ginn*). In this phonetic context, namely, initial plosive, the vowel *i*, and final *n*, the total maximum number of "plosive substitution counters" or "plosive terms" may be used, that is to say *p*, *b*, *t*, *d*, *k*, *g*. The glottal stop may also occur under strong stress (ʔ*in*), but as the stress correlation is not a factor in determining our phonemes, either for consonants or vowels, we cannot give the glottal stop minor function in initial position — but it has major function for emphasis, in certain contexts of situation. If we considered stress as a factor determining the number of our substitution-counters in purely phonetic contexts, we could not place the neutral vowel *ə* in the same series as the rest of the vowels. And we should have to recognise long *p*, *b*, *t*, *d*, *k*, *g*, in strongly stressed initial position, which would give us 12 terms. Length of plosives in English under the incidence of stress is best regarded, however, as a major function of the whole context of situation. All six stops can also be used in final and intervocalic position, e.g. *kɔp*, *kɔb*, *kɔt*, *kɔd*, *kɔk*, *kɔg*; and *ræpid*, *ræbid*, *rætid*, *rædif*, *rækin*, *rægid*.

Though the place and physiological manner of articulating *p* and *b* or *t*

<sup>5</sup> See my *Speech*, Benn's Sixpenny Library No. 121. Pp. 49-61.

and *d* in similar phonetic contexts, as above, are not identical, they are very similar — so that taking mouth articulation as the principal determinant of our sounds, we should have three pairs of homorganic consonants, the members of each pair being largely, though not altogether, distinguished from one another by differences of laryngeal correlation; or, (more simply but more roughly) by the presence or absence of voice. This differentiation of homorganic consonants by "la corrélation de sonorité"<sup>6</sup>, which we may translate "voice correlation", is very interesting from the functional point of view.

Voice correlation, as we have shown, has minor function in most phonetic contexts, though there are some in which it is not really important; e.g. in such words as *substitution*, *abstraction*, the voice correlation in the bi-labial consonant is of no importance. Neither is it in the "d" stop in *width* or *breadth*, or in the labio-dental in *of course*.

The voice correlations of plosives and stops in French, German and Dutch are so different from one another when we come to contextualise them, that from the functional point of view they have little in common.

A Frenchman who ignores the voice correlation in the velar stop of *black dress*, or the German who always ignores it in final position, are not using the same "terms", though both of them have six plosives. And those Germans who make no difference between *Peter* and *Bäder*, use a three-term plosive system in which voice correlation has no function. In other words a bi-labial plosive in this latter type of German, whether it sounds like English *p* or *b* or not, is functionally quite different from our *p* and our *b* in a six-term system. Compared with the fundamental functional difference, the differences of pronunciation seem negligible.

The plosive and stop systems of the Sanskritic languages of India, Indo-European though they may be, are so utterly different from ours, that if we take a Bengali or Delhi Urdu retroflex *t* and an English *t*, the superficial similarity of pronunciation is the only thing they have in common. In both minor and major function they are so utterly unlike, that no functional comparison is possible, except perhaps in borrowed words.

In Bengali for the four articulations represented by *p*, *t* (dental), *t̪*, *k*, there is not merely the voice correlation, but the correlation of aspiration: and, in intervocalic position, the correlation of length as well, giving a plosive system of 32 possible substitution counters or terms. If we include the plosive-like affricates, 8 more, making a round forty in all. From the functional point of view any comparison of the English *t* in a six-term system with the Bengali *t̪* in a 32-term system is ludicrous except from a rather elementary pedagogical point of view. In Tamil, a Dravidian language, there are four rather similar points of articulation for plosives, the retroflex *t̪* being more unlike the English *t*, but the correlations are quite different. There is no voice correlation in pure Tamil, but a combined tenseness-length correlation giving *k*, *kk*, *p*, *pp*, etc., an eight-term system with totally different correlations from either English or any of the Sanskritic dialects. To move still further East, in Korean there are three points of articulation represented by *p*, *t*, *k*, and three distinct correlations of tenseness with glottalisation, of aspiration, and in intervocalic position of length, within limits, giving a fifteen-term system different from any so far mentioned.

<sup>6</sup> See Trubetzkoy, "La phonologie actuelle", pp. 234 seq. in *Psychologie du langage* (1933). Homorganic sounds can also be differentiated by correlations of tenseness, nasality, length, tone, and so on.

Now it will be readily appreciated that a *p* in English, German, Bengali, Tamil and Korean are very different indeed considered from the point of view of minor function alone.

If we contextualise further to include major function, the functional discrepancy widens to a chasm which completely engulfs any little superficial similarity there may be between the sounds considered from the pan-glossic phonetic point of view.

If sounds which are so much alike to the ear, are so utterly different in function, then Babel is a curse indeed. Is there then no function of any kind which our human noises may share? Is there no general "*m*-ness" of *m*, "*i*-ness" of *i*; "*u*-ness" of *u*; "plosivity" of plosives which men speaking different languages feel and use in a very vague and general way in common? I think there is in varying degrees and I have called it the inter-lingual phonæsthetic function <sup>7</sup>.

Now let us return to consider the English plosives in Major function. It is obvious from the lists given, that in initial, intervocalic and final position all six have lexical function.

In addition to lexical function, *t* and *d* have morphological functions of two very different kinds, first after *m*, *n*, *ŋ* and *l*, when the voice-correlation may have lexical function or morphological functions or a combination of both. For example if *wɔnd* and *wɔnt* are contextualised as nouns, we have lexical function for the voice correlation. Now take the two neutrals *bend* and *bent*. If contextualised as nouns, the function of the voice correlation is lexical, but if as verbs it is morphological.

Other interesting pairs for study are *sent* (neutral), *send*; *hʌmd*, *hʌmt*; *kræmd*, *kræmt*; *stʌnd*, *stʌnt*; *fʌnd*, *fʌnt*; *bæŋd*, *bæŋt*; *wɪŋd*, *wɪŋt*; *bild*, *bilt*; *feld*, *felt*; *kild*, *kilt*; *kould*, *koult*.

The same is true after vowels: *wi:d*, *wi:t*; *fi:d*, *fi:t*; *kɔ:d*, *kɔ:t*; though in this case the purely morphological function is rare: e.g. *gə:d*, *gə:t*.

The case is entirely different when *t* and *d* are used in final position after stops and fricatives in careful speech.

The twin consonant groups *pt*, *kt*, *ft*, *pt*, *st*, *ft*, are all common enough in final position, but never *pd*, *kd*, *fd*, *bd*, *sd*, *fd* <sup>8</sup>.

Similarly *bd*, *gd*, *vd*, *ʃd*, *zd*, *zd*, occur finally, but not *bt*, *gt*, *vt*, *ʃt*, *zt*, *zt*.

In such contexts, therefore, no flexion can make use of the voice correlation, as is possible after the liquids. So that if the voice correlation has lexical function in the final consonant of the stem in such contexts, it cannot function in the flexion, and the voice correlation characteristic of the simple form remains throughout the inflected forms, e.g. *bækt*, *bægd*, *bæks*, *bægz*, *ript*, *ribd*, *slæpt*, *slæbd*. The ordinary orthography is thus functionally unambiguous.

As a matter of bare statistics, after *b*, almost the only stop which can be used in a final twin-consonant group is *d*. Similarly almost the only fricative possible is *z*. It will be realised at once that these facts explain the use and distribution of the two main grammatical inflections in Present Day English -*t*, -*d*, and -*id*, and -*s*, -*z*, and *iz*.

Other functions of the voice correlation, I have mentioned in the previous article in *English Studies* above referred to.

Another interesting feature of the twin consonant groups given above, is connected with the identity of the lexical substitution counter or word in

<sup>7</sup> See note <sup>9</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> */t* and */d* both occur as weak forms of */ud*, but not in final position.

connected speech. Just as the lexical identity of the simple form persists in paradigms, so in certain cases does the word in the sentence. If you hear *pd*, *kd*, *fd*, or *bt*, *gt*, *vt*, etc., occurring in that order in connected speech, the first is likely to be the "final" consonant of a word, and the second the initial consonant of the next.

And this meeting of finals and initials in connected speech brings me to the theory of assimilation, — which I find superfluous.

First of all let us take the three phrases *izʃi:?* — *izʃi:?* and *ifʃi:?*. I use all three myself, but in different contexts of situation, and different styles of speech suitable for such situation. In the first style of speech *z* and *ʃ* regularly occur together in that order; but in style two, while the voice correlation still functions in the final consonant of the verb, *z* does not usually occur immediately preceding *ʃ*. In the third style neither *s*, *z* nor *ʒ* occurs in such contexts.

Similarly in the third style of speech above illustrated, final *n* is seldom followed by *p*, *b*, *k*, *g*.

"Final + initial" consonant groups such as *nt*, *nd*, *np*, *nð*, *ns* etc., occur but not *np*, *nb*, *nk*, *ng*. — *mp*, *mb*, *ŋk*, *ŋg* are, however, common. Hence in such speech the auxiliary verb *can't* has several forms: *ka:nt*, *ka:n*, *ka:m*, *ka:ŋ*.

In this style of speech (which is not recommended to foreigners) syllabic *n* cannot occur after *p* or *b* and not often after *k* and *g*. Though syllabic *m* and *ŋ* respectively after such consonants are common.

Then there is the glottal stop. In the speech of many educated people I know, *t* does not occur, in fairly rapid colloquial speech, immediately before *p*, *b*, *m*, *w*, *ð*, and not often before syllabic *n* and certain other sounds. Contexts such as *pm*, *ʔm*, *pp*, *ʔp* are however common; e.g. *nɔʔ mʌtʃ* or *nɔp mʌtʃ*, *nouʔpeipə*, *wiðauʔ mʌtʃ trʌbl*.

It may also occur in *mʌʔn* and even in contexts like *senʔts*, *mæʔtʃ*. It does not usually occur intervocally in educated speech.

The interpretation to be placed on these facts as I see them, is that, whereas the number of phonetic substitution counters or phonemes is likely to be constant in these various styles of speech, the contextual distribution is likely to be very different; and in rapid familiar speech the number of possible contexts for certain sounds will be very much reduced and for others extended, as we have seen. For example, whereas in careful speech "final + initial" groups such as *vt*, *zʃ*, *vk*, commonly occur, in rapid familiar speech such contexts are comparatively infrequent; though *ft*, *fd*, and *vd* are still of common occurrence. The case of the glottal stop is an extension.

There is no need to use the blanket word "assimilation" at all.

The technique of contextualisation, and of explanation by establishing minor and major functions, is not limited to any one type of linguistic unit. There is no reason to suppose that our only speech units are single phonemes, stems, affixes, words and sentences.

Consequently I propose to examine English systems of consonant groups just as we have examined the plosives.

Plosives indeed seem to be the central sounds round which these groups are built with *s* as the initial on-glide component, and with *r* or *l* or less frequently *w*, as the off-glide or "release" component. And, as we might expect from our brief study of the contextual distribution of the plosives, especially of *t* and *d*, (and also of the fricatives *s* and *z*), more groups are built round *p*, *t*, *k*, than round *b*, *d*, *g*.

Let us take such groups in initial position in common non-derivative English word-bases such as *spray*, or *stripe*. In this context there are fifteen very common groups built round the voiceless stops or plosives, and only six in which the stop component is voiced. They can be arranged in a system as follows:

	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>
with <i>s</i> —	<i>sp</i>	—	<i>st</i>	—	<i>sk</i>	—
with — <i>r</i>	<i>pr</i>	<i>br</i>	<i>tr</i>	<i>dr</i>	<i>kr</i>	<i>gr</i>
with — <i>l</i>	<i>pl</i>	<i>bl</i>	—	—	<i>kl</i>	<i>gl</i>
with — <i>w</i>	—	—	<i>tw</i>	<i>dw</i>	<i>kw</i>	—
with <i>s</i> — <i>r</i>	<i>spr</i>	—	<i>str</i>	—	<i>skr</i>	—
with <i>s</i> — <i>l</i>	<i>spl</i>	—	—	—	—	—
with <i>s</i> — <i>w</i>	—	—	—	—	<i>skw</i>	—

First of all it will be noticed that nine have the *r* off-glide component. It is not surprising that *tl* and *dl* do not occur in initial position in contradistinction from initial *kl* and *gl*, as most people find it extremely difficult to hear any difference for instance, between *tli:n dlʌvz* and *kli:n glʌvz*. In the north of England thousands of people use *tl* and *dl* in such contexts, instead of *kl* and *gl*, without knowing it.

In addition to these twenty-one groups with "central" plosives, there are three very common initial assiblations of the liquids *m*, *n*, *l*, (*sm*, *sn*, *sl*) and five groups using *p*, *f*, *s*, *ʃ*, with one or other of the off-glides *r*, *l* or *w*, making twenty-nine common initial consonant groups.

That they have minor function may be shown by such series as the following:

*trip*, *drip*, *strip*, *skip*, *clip*, *grip*, *snip*, *slip*, *flip*;

*stop*, *prop*, *drop*, *crop*, *plop*, *flop*, *strop*;

*spank*, *stank*, *prank*, *drank*, *crank*, *plank*, *blank*, *clank*, *flank*, *frank*, *swank*;

*snack*, *smack*, *slack*, etc.;

*spray*, *splay* (footed), *stray*;

*dwell*, *quell*, *swell*;

*sprawl*; *drawl*, *crawl*, *scrawl*, *brawl*.

By multiplying similar series the contextual contradistinctions of the twenty-nine initial consonant groups can easily be established and the test for minor function satisfied.

Many of them have also the major function which I have called phonæsthetic, and which I first described in my little book on *Speech* published in 1930. This phonæsthetic function can be shown by pointing to obvious correlations which exist between alliterative words beginning with these groups, and characteristic common features of the contexts of experience and of situation in which they are used. For example: *stand*, *stiff*, *stick*, *stake*, *stack*, *stock*, *still*, *stub*, *stud*, *stump*, *stem*, *stalk*, *stoke*, *stuff*, *stare*, *stay*, *stain*, etc. etc.

*grip*, *grasp*, *grab*, *grope*, *grapple*, *gripes*, *groan*, *growl*, *grumb*, *grouse*, *grunt*, etc.

*clay, cloy, clod, clot, clog, clinker, clump, clumsy, cling, clench, clinch, clamp, clasp.*

*squeeze, squelch, squirm, squirt, squib, squeal, squid, squander, squeamish, strip, stripe, stroke, strap, string, streak,* etc., have "long, thin, straight, narrow, stretched-out" correlation. The crooked, "opposite of straight," correlation can be seen in *crank, cross, criss-cross, crick, crab, cramp, crumple, crag, crook, crib, crate, crazy, crimp, cringe, cripple, crutch,* etc.

Then there are all the pejorative words beginning with *sl*, the nasty nasal words with *sn*, — the *smoke, smirch, smirk, smug*, and other *sm* pejorative words.

Of course phonæsthetic function does not begin and end with such initial consonant groups, as we have already seen in connection with vowel contextualisation.

Let us consider the rhyming elements of the following groups of words: *drip, slip, snip, flick, snick, slick, quick*, contrasted with *lump, hump, bump, clump, stump, thump, dump, plump, rump, mumps*! Also *hurl, furl, curl, whirl, twirl, swirl*, and the two series rhyming with *sprawl*, and *swoop* given in an earlier paragraph.

It seems to me fairly obvious that correlations exist between the rhyming elements, and characteristic common features of the contexts of experience and situation in which they are used. Furthermore a comparative study of such words as the following, from this phonæsthetic point of view, will show how these sounds and sound groups are used for combined effects.

*snack, snag; snip, snub; slip, slap, slam, slump;*

*crack, crash; smack, smash; spank, splash, swish, swing, swipe, swoop, swoon.*

From such comparisons we can show that such words are composed of substitution counters which have these rather vague phonæsthetic functions and that consonant groups, short front vowels, back rounded and long vowels, nasals, voiced and voiceless plosives, fricatives, all seem to combine to produce their different and sometimes contrasted effects. But of course all this is only a very small element in the specific meaning of such words in actual verbal contexts. Semantic function can only be understood with reference to the whole context of situation on any specific occasion.

I am far from suggesting that there is anything in all this of Humboldt's inherent sound symbolism, or what Dr. Wolfgang Köhler calls: "Similarities of experiences through different sense organs", "the qualities of different senses being comparable" and associated, or what Swinburne called: "the mixing of senses in the spirit's cup".

I merely state what I believe to be a fact — namely, that a definite correlation can be felt and observed between the use and occurrence of certain sounds and sound-patterns (not being words in the ordinary sense) and certain characteristic common features of the contexts of experience and situation in which they function.

I have collected hundreds of examples of such sound-patterns in German, Dutch, and the Scandinavian languages and tested them in consultation with native students. Many more also from Indian and other Asiatic languages collected either during residence in Asia, or from native students in England. These will be fully dealt with in a future piece of work.

The phonæsthetic function of sounds is not entirely limited, conditioned or specialised, within each speech community. The Germanic languages share very many of these, allowing for national variation of pronunciation of front

and back vowels, *r*-sounds, plosives, and so on. There are, however, certain very widespread correlations between sound and sense in a vague general sort of way throughout the whole world<sup>9</sup>.

To sum up, we have shown how the vowels and plosives of English can be delimited and identified by a comparative study of phonetic contexts. Other sounds, nasals, fricatives, *l*-sounds can be studied in a similar way. This process of contextualisation establishes our phonetic substitution counters or phonemes in what we have called minor function.

Secondly we have analysed our speech sounds into components, into what may be called the articulation component and the correlation components of a general nature, such as voice-breath, length, tone, stress, nasality, tenseness, and so on.

Thirdly we have shown the importance of the study of the contextual distribution of sounds, both of articulations and correlations.

These are the three fundamental principles of the technique based on what is called the phoneme-theory.

Fourthly we have suggested the contextualisation of some of these sounds in verbal contexts and paradigms, to prove their morphological function. The morphological functions of other sounds and of the voice and stress correlations have only been mentioned. Functions for initial *ð* and *þ*, for *n*, *l*, for the voice and stress correlations, have also been suggested. In addition to those pointed out in a previous article, there are the following words suggesting various morphological functions for English sounds:

*sti:l*, *stelþ*; *strɔŋ*, *streŋþ*; *wɔ:m*, *wɔ:mþ*; *waid*, *widþ*; *blæk*, *blæks*, *blækt*, *blækn*, *blæki*; *spi:k*, *spi:tʃ*; *breik*, *bri:tʃ*; *hæŋ*, *hinʒ*, *hitʃ*; *blink*, *blens*; *stɪŋk*, *stens*; *driŋk*, *drens*; etc.

The syntactical functions of intonation also become clear when treated in this way, i.e. by contextualisation.

Lexical function has been distinguished from semantic function, which can only be proved with reference to an actual context of situation on some specific occasion. An exposition of this technique in descriptive linguistics is in preparation, but in the meantime its application may be tried in other languages.

London.

J. R. FIRTH.

---

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Dr. Wolfgang Köhler: *Gestalt Psychology*, Bell & Sons, 1930, esp. pages 186-187.

## Notes and News

**Dutch.**<sup>1</sup> The Editor has asked me to state what I think of the Netherlands Government's ban on the term *Dutch*. I have not seen the circular to the school authorities in Holland, and must, therefore, refrain from passing judgment on the contents of that document. But as to the Government's order to all civil servants to substitute either *Netherlands* or *Netherland* for *Dutch* in all official documents that are sent out in English, I cannot see anything absurd or preposterous in that. This is in conformity with the usage in our own language, in which *Hollandsch* has the same colloquial connotation as *Dutch* has in English. We shall never refer in writing to *Hollandsch Indië*, and it is only right that civil servants, in English communications, shall follow that same usage and call the Malay Archipelago the *Netherland East Indies*. The form without the final -s would seem to be the correct one for adjectival use. For the English speak of the Scottish Highlands, but of a Highland chief, a Highland lass, etc. *Netherlands*, however, could be defended on the analogy of *Hollands* in *Hollands gin*, which form, of course, is not a plural but the Dutch adjective *Hollandsch*, in which the final -ch is mute. *Netherlands Indies* might, therefore, be explained as the phonetic equivalent of *Nederlandsch Indië*.

I cannot believe that there was any intention on the part of the Government to dictate to Britons and Americans. Such an attempt would not only be preposterous but absolutely futile. The term *Dutch* is by its brevity highly preferable to *Netherlands*. The best we Hollanders in America can do is to protest against the ambiguous use of the term. There is, indeed, something objectionable to us in the American phrase "a Dutch treat." The Germans distinguish between two kinds of invitation: *Einladung* and *Aufgebot*. The latter is an invitation to a gathering at which each guest pays his own expenses. That is a typically German form of hospitality unknown, as far as I know, in the Netherlands; it was introduced into America by Germans and became there known as a *Dutch treat*. It would be unwise to reject the word because of such cases of its misapplication. For *Dutch* is a terser and more eloquent name for our language than *Netherlands*. Let us protest not against its use, but against its abuse as a synonym for German.

New York.

A. J. BARNOUW.

**A-Examen 1934.** De *Ned. Staatscourant* van 18 en 19 Januari 1935, no. 13 (Bijvoegsel no. 1) bevat het Verslag der commissie, in 1934 belast geweest met het afnemen van de examens in de Engelse taal (l.o. en m.o.A.). Wij nemen er de volgende opmerkingen uit over betreffende het examen middelbaar onderwijs:

Voor de akte middelbaar onderwijs A zijn dus geslaagd 28,38 pct. van de vrouwelijke en 37,89 pct. van de mannelijke kandidaten, gemiddeld 33,73 pct. In 1933 bedroeg het getal geslaagden gemiddeld 40,21 pct.

<sup>1</sup> See *E.S.*, Dec. 1934, pp. 215-216.

Van de in dit jaar geslaagde 21 vrouwelijke en 36 mannelijke kandidaten namen respectievelijk 12 of ruim 57 pct., en 19 of bijna 53 pct. voor de eerste maal aan het examen deel.

Aan 21 vrouwelijke en 18 mannelijke kandidaten werd bericht, dat de commissie hun vertalingen in het Engelsch en in het Nederlandsch beide onvoldoende had bevonden en dat daardoor hun kans op slagen was vervallen, ongeacht de resultaten van een eventueel mondeling examen. Ondanks deze mededeeling namen twee vrouwelijke en vier mannelijke kandidaten deel aan het mondeling examen; zij werden allen afgewezen.

De commissie geeft haar opvolgster in overweging het tweede gedeelte van het schriftelijk werk te doen bestaan in een vertaling uit het Engelsch.

Zij wenscht aan het verslag nog eenige opmerkingen toe te voegen in verband met enkele onderdeelen van het examen. Het viel de commissie op, dat in de vertaling van het Nederlandsch in het Engelsch veel spelfouten gemaakt waren, niet alleen in moeilijke woorden, maar ook in zeer eenvoudige en gewone, zooals *view*, *address*, welke vergissingen in het werk van aanstaande leeraren vreemd aandeden. Het wekte ook verwondering, dat deze fouten, evenals overtredingen van algemeen bekende en belangrijke spraakkunstige regels, voorkwamen in stukken, die overigens wel blijk gaven van een behoorlijke kennis van het Engelsch. Door meer accuratesse bij de studie zou dit voorkomen kunnen worden. De commissie raadt de kandidaten verder aan, zich bij de vertaling eerst rekenschap te geven van den inhoud van het geheele stuk, alvorens aan het vertalen te beginnen, omdat anders het verband licht uit het oog verloren wordt. Het weergeven van het stuk in de andere taal zal van het begin af gemakkelijker worden en een beter resultaat opleveren, wanneer de vertaler het geheel overziet. Bij de vertaling in het Nederlandsch dienen de kandidaten woorden en uitdrukkingen, die meer tot een dialect dan tot het algemeen beschaafd Nederlandsch behooren, te vermijden.

De commissie meent nogmaals de aandacht te moeten vestigen op den belangrijken invloed van de vertalingen op den uitslag van het examen. Het getal dergenen, wier kans op slagen verviel, doordat beide vertalingen onvoldoende waren, bedroeg dit jaar 23 pct. van het totale getal.

Het resultaat van het examen in de spraakkunst was dikwijls teleurstellend. Evenals vorige jaren bleek weer, dat talrijke kandidaten de spraakkunst als iets op zich zelf staands bestudeeren en te weinig hun uit studieboeken verkregen kennis verhelderen door aandacht te schenken aan grammaticale verschijnselen bij de lectuur van goede stylisten. Men beperke zich ook niet tot de voorlichting van één handboek, want juist het vergelijken van de meeningen van verschillende taalkundigen leidt tot helderder begrip. De grammatica der Nederlandsche taal verwaarlooze men niet, omdat het voortdurend naast elkaar plaatsen van verwante verschijnselen in de beide talen het inzicht zal verdiepen.

Wat betreft het verwerven van de vereischte kennis van het taaleigen meent de commissie te kunnen verwijzen naar het verslag van het vorige jaar. Alleen zou zij er den raad bij willen voegen, ook veel poëzie te lezen, bij voorbeeld langere verhalende en beschrijvende gedichten, waarbij werken van moderne dichters, zooals Masefield, niet vergeten mogen worden.

De klankleer bleek het meest onbevredigende onderdeel van het examen te zijn. Het aantal onvoldoende cijfers, dat hiervoor toegekend moest worden, was zeer groot, terwijl een werkelijk goed examen slechts bij uitzondering voorkwam. Zeer vele kandidaten toonden weinig begrip van de verschijnselen, ondanks de vlot gebruikte technische termen. De commissie adviseert den kandidaten een grondig, weldoordacht verwerken van de theorie. Wat de praktijk van de uitspraak betreft, wijst zij er op, dat het correct uitspreken der taal niet alleen nagestreefd moet worden bij het lezen, maar eveneens bij het spreken. Het cijfer, dat toegekend wordt, is gebaseerd op het voorlezen van de opgegeven passage en op het spreken gedurende het geheele mondelinge examen. De commissie is van oordeel, dat een betere verzorging op dit punt gunstige resultaten zou hebben, aangezien bij vele kandidaten fouten, die onder het spreken telkens weer voorkwamen, bij het lezen geheel werden vermeden.

## B-Examen 1934. Onderwerpen voor het letterkundig opstel :

1. What internal evidence is there to show that the four poems of M.S. Cotton Nero A X are the work of the same poet?
2. Fantastic and realistic elements in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*.
3. Chaucer's reaction to the blackness of his time.

4. Chaucer's treatment of the Troilus-story.
5. What light do the miracle-plays throw on the social and religious life of the times?
6. The Brome *Abraham and Isaac* and its biblical source.
7. The struggle between good and evil in Milton's work.
8. The figure of Satan in *Paradise Lost* and in *Paradise Regained*.
9. Town and country in the poetry of the eighteenth century.
10. Classic and romantic elements in Thomson's *Seasons*.
11. Fielding calls himself the "founder of a new province of writing." Do you consider the claim justified?
12. *Jonathan Wild*, a masterpiece of irony.
13. Smollett's place in the history of the novel.
14. *Humphrey Clinker* has been called Smollett's best novel. Do you agree?
15. Compare Fielding and Smollett as delineators of character.
16. Goldsmith as an essayist.
17. Classic and romantic elements in *The Travellers* and *The Deserted Village*.
18. Wordsworth as a nature mystic.
19. The autobiographical element in Wordsworth's *Prelude*.
20. Shelley's idealism.
21. *Lines Written among the Euganean Hills*, a typically Shelleyan poem.
22. Keats as a metrist.
23. Give a detailed discussion of Keats's *Ode on a Grecian Urn*.
24. The Brontë sisters handicapped by the narrow range of their experience.
25. Old and new elements in *Jane Eyre*.
26. Browning's optimism.
27. Compare the Count Guido monologues in *The Ring and the Book*.
28. Stevenson as a painter of Scotch life and character.
29. *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, a story and an allegory.
30. Shaw's leading characters are the mouthpieces of his theories. Discuss.
31. The love element in Shaw's *Pleasant Plays*.
32. Galsworthy's attitude towards human suffering.
33. Account for the universal praise accorded to the *Indian Summer of a Forsyte*.

**Current Letters.** We are glad to be able to announce that the annual surveys of current fiction, criticism and biography contributed by Mr. (now Professor) A. G. van Kranendonk to this journal from 1926 to 1928, will shortly be resumed by Dr. Frederick T. Wood, of Sheffield, England, who is already familiar to our readers by his articles and reviews on the literature of the eighteenth century. We much regret that Prof. Van Kranendonk is prevented by his academic duties from carrying on the series, but have no doubt that Dr. Wood will make every endeavour to maintain the high level established by his predecessor. We trust this news will prove acceptable to those of our readers who are primarily interested in the literature of our own time, or who at any rate would welcome a reliable guide through the maze of modern fiction and criticism.

**American Studies.** The Editor has been invited to be a member of the Advisory Board of *American Speech* for the year 1935.

## Reviews

*Die Bedeutungsentwicklung der ags. Ausdrücke für "Kraft" und "Macht".* Von MARCO K. MINCOFF. (Palaestra 188). Mayer & Müller, G.m.b.H. in Leipzig. 1933. brosch. R.M. 10.—.

Wie met dit boek het artikel van S. Kroesch, *The semantic development of O.E. "cræft" in Mod. Phil.* 26,433 v. vergelijkt, bemerkt al heel spoedig — wat ook te verwachten was — dat dergelijke onderwerpen van semasiologische aard tot sterk subjectieve beschouwingen aanleiding geven. Het aanvoelen van betekeniswijziging, het rangschikken van betekenissen, het opsporen van factoren, die hierbij in 't spel zijn, dat alles hangt af van persoonlijke meningen van den schrijver, die voor discussie vatbaar zijn. Toch verdient het aanbeveling in het belang van grammatica en lexicographie een poging te doen op dit nog weinig ontgonnen terrein. In de inleiding zet schrijver zijn werkmethode uiteen. Hij kiest de woorden: *strang, stearc, strec, swiþ, eafob, ellen, cræft, mægen, miht, wealdan, en rice* om de grote verscheidenheid en de belangrijke ontwikkeling van hun betekenis. Het materiaal voor zijn onderzoek heeft hij met zorg gerangschikt en al treedt ook hier de subjectieve factor op de voorgrond, waartegen ik boven waarschuwde, over 't algemeen ben ik 't eens met zijn opvatting, dat verzamelingen van glossen en woordenlijsten, gelijk wij die in de uitgaven van Wright en Napier aantreffen, voor zijn doel onbruikbaar zijn, omdat ze met fijnere nuanceringen van betekenis geen rekening houden. Ook moet de poëtische taal voorzichtig bestudeerd worden; door het dwingend stafrijm en de duistere stijl met zijn wazige omschrijvingen komt de juiste uitdrukking in 't gedrang. Het meest betrouwbaar materiaal levert het proza, waartoe ook behoren de interliniaire glossen (*Lindisfarner Evang.* en *Rituale van Durham*). De werken van Alfred staan volgens den schrijver te zeer onder invloed van de dichterlijke taal. Daartegenover noemt hij de praecisie van uitdrukking onovertroffen bij den laatwestsaksischen homileet Aelfric, abt van Eynsham. Wulfstan is minder bruikbaar, omdat zijn preken nog altijd niet in echte en onechte gesorteerd zijn. Het is goed gezien van den schrijver, dat hij rekening houdt met de dialecten en de tijd, waarin de stukken geschreven zijn en dat hij de oudnoorse en oudduitse literatuur niet verwaarloost. De waarde van zijn boek ligt niet zozeer in de bereikte resultaten als wel in de nauwgezette werkmethode, die hij volgt en waarvan ik boven bij de schifting van het materiaal voorbeelden aanhaalde.

Ziehier enkele punten, door hem aan 't eind van zijn boek, samengevat :

1) Een oud woord voor *sterkte* schijnt uitgestorven te zijn, waarschijnlijk got. *swinþs* = *sterk*. Ags. *swiþ* zelden = *sterk*.

2) Ags. *eafob* schijnt oorspronkelijk *levenskracht, energie* te beteken. Het komt te weinig voor en is bovendien grotendeels tot de poëtische literatuur beperkt, zodat de ontwikkeling moeilijk kan worden nagegaan.

3) *Cræft, mægen, miht* hebben *kracht* als grondbetekenis. Bij *cræft* is merkwaardig, dat de oude betekenis langzaam verdwijnt. Zij komt voor in de oude poëzie, enigszins gewijzigd bij Alfred (= *dapperheid, krijgsmacht, geschiktheid*). Later komt op de voorgrond: *deugd, kunst, list*. Voor het Duits treffen wij een tegengesteld proces aan: toenemende beperking tot fysieke kracht. De betekenis *list*, die vooral in 't middeleng. voorkomt, is een gevolg van het verdwijnen van het woord *searu*.

*The Proverbs of Alfred.* Studied in the Light of the Recently Discovered Maidstone Manuscript. By HELEN PENNOCK SOUTH, Ph. D. The New York University Press, 1931. vi + 168 pages. (Price ?)

As appears from the title page, and as we are informed in the Preface, Prof. Carleton Brown's discovery of the Maidstone MS. of the *Proverbs* "supplied the primary impulse for this investigation." Prof. Carleton Brown gave a description of this MS. in the January number of the *Modern Language Review*, vol. XXI (1926), and printed the newly-discovered text in the July number of the same volume. The Maidstone MS. does not contain a complete text of the *Proverbs*, but only some portions, 266 lines in all, or about two fifths of the poem, which consists of 668 lines. For these 266 lines it is of the highest value, because it may have been copied from the Cotton Galba MS.<sup>1</sup> or some manuscript not far removed from it.

Dr. South's *Introduction*, which takes up nearly 100 pages, brings a wealth of information. After a detailed description of the MSS. and an enumeration of the editions of the *Proverbs*, there follows a chapter entitled "The Identification of Siford." It was at this place, according to the opening lines of the poem, that King Alfred met many thanes, bishops, book-learned men, proud earls, and valiant knights, and 'dispensed wisdom.' Siford has mostly been taken to mean Seaford in Sussex, while Shifford in Oxfordshire, and Shefford in Berks. and in Beds. have also been suggested. Dr. South gives lists of the forms in which the names of these places occur in old documents, and it turns out that "the Berkshire town alone can claim the name as it appears in the *Proverbs*" (p. 33). Siford, indeed, already occurs in the Domesday Book. The name is spelt in several ways; the modern form *Shefford* has developed from *Shifford*<sup>2</sup>.

Dr. South then proceeds to show that Shefford, Berks, is in a neighbourhood connected with Alfredian history. Alfred was born at Wantage, within ten miles of Shefford. His family owned a large amount of land in Berkshire, and as a boy he must have known the district well. Alfred held several estates in Berkshire, and we may assume that he was familiar with them. Dr. South quotes a passage from Asser's *Life* which, if the place Leonaford mentioned there may be identified as Linford, Berks, shows that King Alfred spent at least eight months within about twelve miles of Shefford.

Dr. South marshals the results of her investigations so convincingly that it seems to me that she has succeeded in proving that Siford can be no other place than Shefford in Berkshire.

The identification of Siford affects the dating of the poem. "Siford is the eleventh and twelfth century spelling, which began to change even before 1200." "The author or compiler would naturally choose the form current in his own time." Dr. South's conclusion is that the archetype of the poem was composed in the twelfth century.

The next chapter contains numerous early literary references, both English

<sup>1</sup> This MS., which was already in a fragmentary condition in 1705, when Wanley described it, and which was destroyed by fire in 1731, "was either the archetype of the *Proverbs*, or very close to it" (p. 7).

<sup>2</sup> The name is a compound of OE. *scēp* and *ford*; *scēp* > *ship* is frequent in place names, e.g. in the numerous Shiptons. The initial *s* to indicate [ʃ] is due to Anglo-Norman influence.

and Latin. Some of these quotations, especially those from *Long Life*, the *Lambeth Homilies*, and *Lazamon's Brut* are so early that they "fully justify the acceptance of a 12th-century date for the *Proverbs*."

In Chapter IV the language of the poem, the introduction of foreign words, and the metre are discussed. The dialect appears to be Southern in most respects, but shows a Midland colouring. Dr. South locates the home of the archetype as somewhere near the border of the East Midland and the South. Foreign loan-words have scarcely begun to be introduced; the metre is of an early and transitional character. In the last sentence of the Introduction Dr. South says she believes "that the original of the *Proverbs of Alfred* may be dated as early as the third quarter of the twelfth century."

In locating the home of the archetype Dr. South ignores a few significant rhymes, viz. 108 f. *ston : man* (in M., Spelman, Jesus, and Trinity); 435 f. *don*, inf. : *began* (in Trinity); 605 f., 613 f., 622 f. *mon : don*, inf. (all in Trinity). These West-Midland rhymes may reflect one of the dialectal peculiarities of the archetype, and if they do, the obvious conclusion is that the *Proverbs* cannot have been composed 'somewhere near the border of the East Midland and the South' but must have originated in a district where West-Midland forms were in use. As the place where the scene is laid is in the West of Berkshire, not far from the border of the West-Midland area, it is quite possible that it is there that we may have to look for the home of the archetype.

This location is supported by the *-on-* spellings in words that have *an* (*on*) in O.E. These spellings, which occur sporadically in M, but are frequent in J and T, may have been taken over from the original.

The text is a composite one. Lines 1—30 have been printed from Wanley's transcript of the fragment of the Cotton Galba MS., and lines 31—71 from Hearne's transcript, now in the Bodleian Library. Then follow the portions of the *Proverbs* found in the Maidstone MS. The gaps between these selections "have been filled up by adding ..... the corresponding lines from the Trinity MS. .... In this way a complete text of the *Proverbs* has been made up which in each of its sections offers the most authoritative representative of the archetype."

Dr. South uses the term 'Old English' in the sense of West Saxon, in consequence of which the statements made in some of the 'tests' enumerated on p. 65 f., e.g. in IIa, VI, and VII are not quite correct. Sound and symbol are not sufficiently distinguished in test I and test V. — On p. 83 *sal*, which occurs in the Maidstone MS. is called 'Northern.' Initially *s* instead of *sch*, *sh* is not infrequent in MSS. written not later than about 1300; *sal*, *sullen*, *sulde*, etc. are found in the *Kentish Sermons*, the T MS. of the *Poema Morale*, *Genesis and Exodus*, the *Bestiary*, the O MS. of *King Horn*, etc. The Maidstone MS. also has *sapen*, 'shaped,' in l. 121. — *Swilch* (p. 83) is not Northern. — In discussing the cases in which *t* or *d* is found instead of *p*, the Author makes no mention of Anglo-Norman scribal habits, to which these substitutions are probably due.

In the glossary English words are consistently compared with West-Saxon forms; this is occasionally misleading, as in the case of *briht*—*beorht*; *elden*—*ieldan*, *yldan*; *elder*—*ieldra*, *yldra*; *erre*—*yrrre*, *ierre*; *forgeten*—*forgietan*, *forgytan*; *gef*, imperative —*gif*; *zung*—*geong*; *scene*—*sciene*.

There are a few slips in the glossary. The verb *at-go* 'depart', is not connected with O.E. *agan*; O.E. has *ætgan*, and \**ætgan* may have existed

by the side of it. — *Bopen* is not the M.E. descendant of O.E. *begen*, but of O.N. *bapir*. — *Chariweth* (read *charizeth*<sup>3</sup>) cannot be traced back to O.E. *cierran*, *ccrran*; the O.E. form of this verb is *cearran*, which occurs in Northumbrian, but does not seem to be recorded in West-Saxon. — M.E. *fro* has nothing to do with O.E. *fram*; it is O.N. *fra*. — The curious form *dige* (: *witterliche*, 660) is not explained; the Author simply states that it is from O.E. *dic*. This is confirmed by the rhyme; probably the scribe replaced the English *diche* in his exemplar by the A. N. *dige*; cf. *Alex. atte Dige*, *Registrum Epistolarum J. Peckham*, III, 1013. — The three verbs *monezen*, *munizen*, and *munc* cannot all of them have descended from O.E. *manian*; *munizen* (with *ü*) is evidently O.E. *myndgian*, *myngan*; *munc* (also with *ü*) < O.E. *mynnan*; *monizen* is the West-Midland representative of O.E. *manizan*, *monian*. — *Prude* (noun) is not O.E. *pryt*, which is an adjective, but O.E. *pryde*, a by-form of *pryte*. — *Doh* is not O.E. *þeah*, but O.N. *\*boh*, which found its way into O.E. at an early date, before the *h* was lost (the O.N. form is *bó*). — *Uole* pres. sing. is a new formation from *wolde*. — *Vniselpe* is not O.E. *unsæld*, but *ungesælp*. — *Wersse* cannot be a genuine English form (< *wyrsa*, *wiersa*); it probably owes its *e* to O.N. *verre*. — *Witerliche* can hardly be O.E. *witodlice*; the first component is O.N. *vittr*.

Amsterdam.

W. VAN DER GAAF.

*Doctor Faustus*. Treurspel van Christopher Marlowe, vertaald door Dr. J. DECROOS. „De Sikkell” Antwerpen — C. A. Mees, Santpoort 1926. 55 bladz. (Prijs ?).

Onlangs, ofschoon deze vertaling reeds verscheidene jaren geleden is verschenen, verzocht mij de redacteur van dit tijdschrift haar alsnog te willen bespreken. Aan welk vereerend verzoek ik gaarne voldoe, omdat het een genot is zich hier en daar in Marlowe's *Faustus* te verdiepen. *Greift nur hinein ..... nicht vielen ist's bekannt, Und wo ihr's packt, da ist's interessant.*

Alreeds onder zijn tijdgenooten stond Marlowe bekend als de dichter van den gespierden regel. Geen wonder dus, dat ik het allereerst grijp naar het beroemde tooneel, waarin wijlen Helena in den bloei van haar schoonheid te voorschijn wordt getooverd :

<i>Fau.</i> Was this the face that lancht a thoufand fhippes ?	1328
And burnt the topleffe Towres of <i>Ilium</i> ?	1329
Sweete <i>Helen</i> , make me immortall with a kisse :	1330
Her lips luckes forth my foule, see where it flies :	1331
Come <i>Helen</i> , come giue mee my foule againe.	1332

Ik volg Tucker Brooke's regeltelling. Hier is de vertaling :

<i>Faust.</i> Dreef dit gelaat die duizend schepen uit	
En brandde't Troja's wolkenhooge tinnen ? —	
O maak me onsterfelijk met uw kus !	(Hij kust haar.)
	Heur lippen
Zuigen mijn ziel uit: zie, daar glipt ze heen !	
Kom, Helena, geef mij mijn ziel terug.	

<sup>3</sup> See note to line 81 on p. 105 f. The form *chariweth* occurs in the Maidstone M.S., the scribe of which occasionally mistook the *3* in his copy for the runic *w*.

Regel 1328. Marlowe spreekt van het *te water laten* van schepen en al gaat het moeilijk deze uitdrukking in den versregel te verwerken, in geen geval gaat het aan haar door *uitdrijven* (= verjagen) te vervangen; te minder, omdat onder het *uitdrijven van schepen* wordt verstaan het *door den stroom naar buiten laten drijven*.

Regel 1329 is nog minder goed. *Tinnen* zijn de gekanteelde bovenste gedeelten van een muur. Dr. Decroos laat slechts die bovenstukken verbranden, terwijl Marlowe de hemelhooge *torens* laat plat branden.

Regel. 1330. *Sweete Helen* wordt noodeloos opgeofferd en de leemte, daardoor ontstaan, wordt aangevuld met *Heur lippen*, die tot den volgenden regel behooren. Op deze wijze wordt Marlowe's *mighty line* te kort gedaan.

Het *enjambement*, het pauslooze overvloeien der woorden naar den volgenden regel, is bij Marlowe zeldzaam, bijna afwezig. Te recht zegt Milton, dat *the musical delight* van verzen onder meer bestaat uit *the sense variously drawn out from one Verse into another*. Dr. Decroos doet dit vaak en blijkbaar met voorbedachten rade, omdat hij het met Milton eens is, maar hij vergeet daarbij, dat hij een der pioniers van het *blank verse* wil vertalen en dat hij dit niet op zijn mooi Miltonsche mag doen, maar de plicht heeft het karakteristieke van Marlowe's versstijl weer te geven.

Regel. 1331. Het *uitzuigen* van een ziel is niet identiek met het *wegzuigen* van die dichterlijke substantie.

In een metrische vertaling, die nooit meer kan zijn dan een benadering van het oorspronkelijke, moet natuurlijk wel eens iets worden opgeofferd en veranderd. Al te nauw mag een beoordeelaar niet toezien. Slechts dan heeft hij het volste recht aanmerkingen te maken, wanneer hij kan aantonen, dat een betere vertaling mogelijk is. Of mij dit aantonen gelukt, staat ter beoordeeling van mijn lezers; ik zal het beproeven :

*Faust.* Deed dit gelaat een duizend schepen varen

En brandde't Iljum's reuzetorens neer?

O, zoete! Maak me onsterflijk door een kus!

Zij zuigt mijn ziel weg. Zie, hoe die me ontzweeft!

Toe, Helena, geef mij mijn ziel weerom!

(*Kust haar.*)

(*Wankelt.*)

Teleurgesteld door mijn eersten greep, grijp ik naar 't begin :

*Enter Chorus.*

Not marching now in fields of *Thracimene*,

Where *Mars* did mate the Carthaginians,

Nor sporting in the dalliance of loue,

In courts of Kings were fate is ouerturnd,

Nor in the pompe of proud audacious deedes,

Intends our Muse to daunt his<sup>1</sup> heauenly verfe :

Only this (Gentlemen) we muft performe,

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7

Dr. Decroos vertaalt :

Koor. Niet schrijdend in het Trasimeensche veld,

Waar Mars zich met Carthago's macht verbond ;

Niet koozend in het weeldrig minnespel

Aan hoven waar de Staat wordt omgekeerd ;

Niet in den glans der grootsche, stoutte daad,

Doet thans de Muze klinken 't hemelsch vers :

Wij zullen, heeren, u vertoonen slechts

<sup>1</sup> *his* is geen fout, want ook Shakespeare en Milton kennen een mannelijke Muze.

Dit lezend, heb ik verbaasd gestaan. Wat de reeds besproken regels betreft, was het duidelijk, dat de vertolker het Engelsch begrepen had, doch niet in staat bleek te zijn de gedachten zuiver en in zuiveren vorm weer te geven. Uit deze proeve van vertaling blijkt het, dat hij heel weinig begrepen heeft van wat Marlowe zegt. Laat ik er echter dadelijk bijvoegen, dat de uitgevers en uitleggers van Marlowe er niet veel meer van begrepen hebben en dat Dr. Decroos zich dus veilig troosten kan met, wat men beleefdelyk noemt, in goed gezelschap te zijn.

Regel 2. De woorden *did mate* kunnen niets anders beteekenen dan dat Mars de Karthagers *versloeg*, het tegenovergestelde van wat de vertaling ten beste geeft. De *N.E.D.* het groote, gezaghebbende, Oxfordsche woordenboek haalt den regel zelfs aan als een voorbeeld van deze beteekenis. Maar het gekke van de zaak is, dat Mars niet de Karthagers doch de Romeinen bij het Trasimeensche meer versloeg. Geen nood, men weet er wat op. Men verzint en praat elkaar na, dat *to mate* hier *to side with* of *to enter into alliance with* schijnt te beteekenen, niettegenstaande niemand ooit een tweeden zin heeft aangetroffen, waarin deze beteekenis zou mogen gelden. Met zulke verzinsels is men altijd op den verkeerden weg.

Het juiste standpunt tegenover een dergelijke tegenstrijdigheid is: òf Marlowe heeft zich verschreven, òf de tekst is foutief overgeleverd. Het eerste is in dit geval nauwelijks denkbaar, terwijl het tweede een heel gewoon verschijnsel is in de tooneelteksten van Greene, Marlowe en Shakespeare.

Naar mijn meening is het vrij wel zeker, dat Marlowe inplaats van *Mars did mate* geschreven heeft *Mars did aide*. De drukfout hoort thuis in de talrijke groep der verspreekfouten en er was des te eer aanleiding toe, omdat ook reeds in den voorafgaanden regel de alliteratie van de beklemtoonde *m* voorkomt: *marching ..... -mene, Mars ..... mate*.

Natuurlijk mag men het den vertaler niet euvelduiden, dat hij een gebrekkig overgeleverde passage niet weet te herstellen; wel zou men mogen verwachten, dat een noot van hem op de moeilijkheid of de onzekerheid zijner vertaling wijst. Hoe dit ook zij, een onjuiste vertaling, zonder meer, valt nooit te loven, zelfs niet als de vertaler de bedoeling van den auteur prachtig heeft geraden.

Regel 3. *Weeldrig* is echte weelde, want het is bij Marlowe afwezig. *Koozend* is een grove fout. In plaats dat de Muze zich verlustigt in het minnespel van anderen, laat de vertaler de Muze zelf minnekoozen. En dat niettegenstaande *sporting* nooit *koozend* kan beteekenen en hij de juiste beteekenis van het woord in de *N.E.D.* had kunnen vinden met den regel van Marlowe aangehaald!

Regel 4. Wat men onder het omkeeren van den Staat heeft te verstaan, mag Joost weten; *where [state is ouerturnd]* beteekent: waar waardigheid is te loor gegaan. Zie b.v. Schmidt's *Shakespeare-Lexicon* onder 5a: *dignity of deportment*, of in de *N.E.D.* de 18de van de 40 rubrieken, waarin de beteekenissen van *state* worden behandeld: *dignity of demeanour, stateliness of bearing*.

Regel 5. Ik weet niet hoe ik mij het klinken van een vers in den glans van een daad moet voorstellen. In elk geval, Marlowe zegt iets anders: Noch zich nu verlustigend in minnarij ..... noch zich nu verlustigend in den glans van grootsche daden. Dat Marlowe het woordje *now* uit den eersten regel niet herhaalt in den derden en vijfden en het woord *sporting* niet in den vijfden bemoeilijken het verstaan van zijn tekst. Een goed verstaander komt deze moeilijkheden te boven.

Regel 6. Het woord *daunt* in den eersten druk is in de editie van 1616 ten onrechte door *vaunt* vervangen en, sinds Dyce in 1850 *vaunt* overnam, vindt men deze dwaze fout in de meeste der moderne uitgaven herhaald. Dr. Decroos is weder in quasi goed gezelschap, maar zijn vertaling is er niet minder onbestaanbaar om. Marlowe is niet zoo verwaand om te zeggen, dat zijn Muze haar hemelsch vers zal laten klinken, hij zegt integendeel, dat zijn Muze van plan is haar hoogvluchtsch vers te temmen, omdat zij het thans over den burgerlijken Faustus zal hebben en niet zooals vroeger over hoogverheven onderwerpen, als daar waren de tocht van Hannibal (vermoedelijk verloren gegaan tooneelstuk), *The Tragedie of Dido Queene of Carthage*, die haar waardigheid te grabbel gooide door zich aan Aeneas aan te bieden <sup>2</sup>, en *Tamburlaine the Great*, die de halve wereld overwon.

Met behoud van de moeilijkheden, zooals 't behoort, kom ik tot de volgende verdietsching der eerste zeven regels :

Niet nû op marsch in Trasimeensch gebied  
 Waar Mars te hulp kwam aan de Puniërs,  
 Nôch zich verlustigend in minnarij  
 Aan koningshoven waar 't aan fierheid faalt,  
 Nôch in den praal van daden trotsch en stout,  
 Wil onze Muze eur hooge vlucht betoemen.  
 Slechts dit, mijnheeren: wij vertoonen u

Inderdaad is de stijl van Marlowe in zijn *Faustus* lang niet zoo hoogdravend als in zijn vorige stukken. Toch heeft hij den ouden Adam niet steeds beteugeld. Ook in *Faustus* slaat zijn Pegasus nog wel eens op hol :

*Fau.* Now that the gloomy shadow of the earth, 235  
 Longing to view *Orions* drifting looke,  
 Leaps from th'antartike world vnto the flie,  
 And dimmes the welkin with her pitchy breath :  
*Fauftus*, begin thine incantations, 239

Dr. Decroos vertaalt :

*Faust.* Terwijl de sombre schaduw onzer aard',  
 Verlangend naar *Orions* flikkerblik,  
 Van uit de zuidersfeer de lucht in snelt  
 En met haar pikzwarte' adem 't zwerck verdoft,  
 Begin met uw bezwering, Faust, en let

Regel 236 is moeilijk en *flikkerblik* rijmt op *sic* ! De exegeten zwijgen. Eerst toen ik gevonden had, dat het sterrenbeeld Orion betiteld werd met *imbrifer*, *nebulosus*, *aquosus*, werd het mij duidelijk, dat Marlowe bedoelt: de schaduw van de naar regen verlangende aarde :

Thans, nu de donkre schaduw van onze aard'  
 (Die naar *Orions* druiwend aanschijn snakt)  
 Van 't zuiderhalfgrond naar den hemel schiet  
 En met haar pekkige adem 't zwerck bewolkt,  
 Vang, Faustus, aan met uw bezweringen

<sup>2</sup> Let ook op deze regels uit *Dido* :

She ..... in admyring spends her time,  
 And cannot talke nor thinke of ought but him :

Al zou ik gaarne willen aannemen, dat Dr. Decroos niets zóó gebrekkig heeft overgezet als de eerste zes regels, een vertaling, die met zulk een onverteerbaar brok begint, kan ik niet prijzen. Bovendien blijkt het uit andere, niet aangehaalde passages, dat hij zich den tijd niet heeft gegund en de hulpmiddelen niet heeft aangewend, misschien omdat zij hem niet ten dienste stonden, die volstrekt noodig zijn om een voldoende vertaling te kunnen leveren. De *N.E.D.* is onmisbaar voor het begripen van *Early Modern English* en een vlijtig gebruik van het *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*, begonnen door De Vries en Te Winkel, is bijzonder wenschelijk om zooveel mogelijk de juiste Nederlandsche parallellen te kunnen vinden.

Mij rest de vraag of de vertolking van Dr. Decroos beter is dan hare voorgangsters?

Wijlen Professor R. S. Tjaden Modderman liet in 1887 een vertaling verschijnen, verrijkt met talrijke toelichtingen en een vergelijkende studie over Marlowe en Goethe's *Faust*<sup>3</sup>, zoodat hij heel wat meer biedt dan Dr. Decroos. Wat de eigenlijke vertaling betreft, haal ik in de eerste plaats aan :

*Faust.* 't Was dus om dit gelaat, dat men een vloot  
In zee zond, meer dan duizend schepen sterk  
En men de stompe torens heeft verbrand  
Van Ilium! O zoete Helena!  
Maak mij onsterflijk met een kus! (Kust haar.)  
Mijn ziel,  
Getrokken door haar lippen, vliedt van mij,  
Kom, Helena, hergeef mij mijne ziel!

Tegenover het *uitdrijven*, de *tinnen* en het *uitzuigen* van Dr. Decroos staat slechts Modderman's onjuiste vertaling van *topeffe*. Toch wijkt Modderman hier veel verder van Marlowe af dan Dr. Decroos. In de eerste 3½ regels, die er 2 behoorden te zijn, zijn de toon, die de muziek, en de stijl, die het dichtstuk maakt, zóó verslapt, dat er van Marlowe's forschheid weinig is overgebleven.

Hier is Modderman's begin :

*Koor.* Niet naar het veld van Thrasimenum, waar  
God Mars te hulp kwam aan 't Carthaagsche heer,  
Noch naar het dartle spel der schalksche min;  
Niet naar het hof, waar men den val beraamt  
Van koninkrijken, noch naar 't schouwtooneel  
Van stoute daden voert mij dezen keer  
Mijn muze met haar hemelsch snarenspeel.  
Het lust haar nu te melden 't goed en 't kwaad,

Ook hier weder heeft de vertaling een regel te veel, maar de verwatering loopt „dezen keer” niet al te fel in 't oog. Het niet-begripen van het Engelsch is bij Modderman iets minder bedenkelijk dan bij Dr. Decroos. Hij heeft bovendien op Dr. Decroos voor, dat hij in beter verstaanbare taal zijn mis-

<sup>3</sup> Ik haal er uit aan :

Vooreerst dan, ofschoon de samenhang ook bij Marlowe, met name in het middelgedeelte, te wenschen overlaat, bezit toch zijn drama, dat van bescheiden afmetingen is, zoowel in vorm als inhoud meer eenheid, werkt het zoowel op lezer en toeschouwer meer als geheel, dan het uitgebreid, maar toch nog onvoltooid treurspel van Goethe. Beschouwt men daarentegen beide dichtstukken in bijzonderheden, tooneel voor tooneel, gedachte voor gedachte, let men niet op het bosch, maar op de boomen, dan kan men geen oogenblik aarzelen, om aan den *Faust* van Goethe, die grooter dichter en dieper denker was, de voorkeur te geven. (bladz. 43/4).

vattingen heeft neergeschreven. Maar ook in deze passage toont Modderman geen eerbied te hebben voor Marlowe's forschen regel, hij enjambeert er lustig op los, vermoedelijk in 't vertrouwen daardoor den versbouw van het origineel te verbeteren, maar zulke verbeteringen zijn niet geoorloofd, omdat zij een der sprekende eigenaardigheden van de wijze der gedachtenuitdrukking aantasten.

Heel merkwaardig is Modderman's volgende vertaling :

Nu dat de sombre schaduw van den nacht  
Verlangend naar Orions nev'lig beeld  
Uit 't warme Zuid zich uitbreidt aan den trans,  
De wolken hullend in haar killen tocht,  
Nu, Faustus, is het tijd. Begin uw werk

Hier is de moeilijkste regel goed vertaald, dank zij Modderman's klassieke kennis. En toch heeft hij dien regel niet begrepen en is de geheele passage onbestaanbaar geworden. Het heeft geen zin, dat de nacht, of de schaduw van den nacht, naar regen zou verlangen. Had hij dien tweeden regel goed verstaan, dan zou hij hebben geweten, dat hij niet het woord *night* uit den druk van 1616, maar het woord *earth* uit den eersten druk van 1604 had moeten vertalen. Quasi goed gezelschap strekt ook hem tot excuus.

Uit den derden en vierden regel blijkt, dat zijn neiging tot eigengereide verfraaiing van het oorspronkelijke niet alleen den versbouw betreft. Al gaat in deze opzichten ook Dr. Decroos niet geheel vrij uit, hij toont zich zeer beslist Modderman's meerdere in de vereischte verstechniek en in de moeilijke verzaking van valschen opschik. Waarvan de slotregels van het drama een laatst en opmerkelijk voorbeeld verschaffen :

..... vnlawful things,	1483
Whofe deepeness doth intife fuch forward wits,	
To practife more then heauenly power permits.	1485

Dr. Decroos :

..... verboden wetenschap,  
Wier diepte een roekeloozen geest verleidt  
Om meer te doen dan 's Hemels almacht lijdt.

Mooi vertaald, al is het rijm niet in orde.  
Modderman :

Beperk uw weetlust, sterveling !  
Vorsch nimmer in verboden kring ;  
Stel uw geluk alleen in kunde  
Die Hooger Macht den mensch vergunde.

Ook deze regels geven op verdienstelijke wijze den zin van het Engelsch weer. Maar Modderman's zanggodin is geen familie van Marlowe's muze.

Naar aanleiding van Modderman's vertaling verscheen in *De Nieuwe Gids* van October 1887 een vertaling van Albert Verwey. Ter vergelijking dienen :

*Faust.* Toog dit gelaat die duizend-scheep'ge vloot  
Ten brand van Trooi's stomp-torenige burcht ?  
O kus me en kus me onsterf'lijk, Helena !  
Mijn ziel vliegt op haar lippen, zie haar vliën !  
Kom, Helena, geef mij nu weer mijn ziel.

Koor. Nu niet, als eens, in 't veld van Trasymeen,  
 Schrijdend, waar Mars aan 't slaan Karthagen sloeg; —  
 Niet waar in 't koningshof het minnespel  
 Dartelt en 't wankel staatswiel ommeslaat; —  
 Noch waar een vorst met pracht'ge daden pronkt,  
 Voert hoog deez' Muze 't goddelijke vers: —  
 Niet anders, menschen, zullen we u doen zien,

Faust. Thans nu de donk're schaduw van 't heelal,  
 Onder Orions druilige gelaat,  
 Rijst van 't antarktisch rijk óp in de lucht,  
 En dooft 't gestarnte met haar smokige' aëm, —  
 Faustus, begin aanroeping en gebaar,

En leer' wie wijs is, door zijn zonde en doem,  
 Eerbiedig vèr staan van wat God verborg,  
 In diepten, die godloos weetgierig-zijn  
 Dieper doorspieden wil dan 't God vergunt.

Marlowe's versbouw is over 't algemeen goed weergegeven. Voor 't overige hoop ik, dat Professor Verwey het met mij eens zal zijn, dat hier een roekeloze geest in jeugdigen overmoed aan 't werk is getogen. Niet alleen zijn er in dat werk te veel misvattingen en afwijkingen van Marlowe's gedachten, ook de taal is slecht verzorgd. Hoe leelijk is de zin *Toog dit gelaat die ..... vloot ten brand van ..... met de foeileelijke bedenksels duizend-scheep'ge en stomp-torenige!* Staat Orion buiten het heelal? Welk begrip kan men hechten aan de schaduw van 't heelal? En doet niet de brabbeltaal van het slot de deur toe?

Den Haag.

B. A. P. VAN DAM.

BEN JONSON. Edited by C. H. HERFORD and PERCY SIMPSON.  
 Volume IV. *Cynthia's Revels, Poetaster, Sejanus, Eastward Ho.*  
 xvi—620 pp. 29 facsimiles. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1932.  
 21/— net.

NATHANIEL LEE: *Constantine the Great*, kritisch herausgegeben  
 und mit einer Einleitung versehen von WALTER HÄFELE. (Englische  
 Textbibliothek, 20). 166 pp. Heidelberg: Winter. 1933. Mk. 5.50.

Apart from the Roman tragedy *Sejanus*, the fourth volume of the epoch-making Oxford edition of Ben Jonson's works (an enterprise which will have to continue without the assistance of the senior editor, Prof. Herford, who died on 25 April 1931), contains three plays where Ben Jonson does not appear at his best. Although he gave much study to the stylistic details of *Cynthia's Revels*, the play is far inferior to the two earlier Humour plays, *Every Man in his Humour* and *Every Man out of his Humour*. Old themes which are rehandled in it have lost much of their power and freshness; while the new inventions, dazzling as they are in detail, do little but embarrass movement and confuse effect. Satire and allegory, which appealed most to the taste

of the aristocratic elements of the audience, have developed to the great detriment of dramatic action. Brilliant description of characters and vivacious repartees are to be found here and there; but as the rudimentary psychology of "humours" practically resulted in a list of human imperfections calculated to provoke repulsion on the part of the audience, Ben Jonson's new dramatic art tended to resemble, unintentionally, the old technique of the Morality play. Four foolish courtiers match four foolish Court ladies; and both pairs are confronted by the four virtuous ladies in the train of Cynthia, three of whom, Phronesis, Thaumà, and Timè, are undistinguishable from Medieval allegories. The interest of the audience must have been kept awake through the deft introduction of satirical elements then in vogue (the Latin satirists, Juvenal, Persius, Martial, were the fashion at the end of the XVIth century, and *Cynthia's Revels* was composed and performed in the latter part of 1600), as well as through personal allusions. It has been assumed that the reference to Actæon (Act V, scene xi, 19-22):

Seemes it no crime, to enter sacred bowers,  
And hallowed places, with impure aspect,  
Most lewdly to pollute? Seemes it no crime,  
To brave a *deitie*?

points to the bursting of the Earl of Essex into the Queen's (i.e., as usual, Cynthia's) chamber in his riding habit in September, 1599, to find her "with her hair about her face." (This view is to be preferred to the other according to which the references to Actæon as "pursued, and torn by Cynthia's wrath" and to his "fatal doom" point to Essex's execution, and must therefore have been added after February 25, 1601). The characters of Hedon and Anaiides are modelled on Jonson's rivals, Marston and Dekker, who saw their likenesses in those caricatures. Moreover, the audience must have delighted in the frequent references to peculiarities of contemporary taste, such as the Italianate Englishman (Amorphus, Act I, scenes iii and iv), Italian quotations and Italian dishes (for Ben Jonson's acquaintance with Italian things, at least in *Volpone*, Florio has been suggested as the source: see the recent *John Florio*, by Frances A. Yates, Cambridge 1934, p. 277 sqq.), social games such as the riddles and paradoxes in Act II, sc. ii, "substantives and adjectives" in Act IV, sc. iii, the meaning of colours (Act V, sc. ii), devices (Act V, sc. vii).

As rumours had reached Ben Jonson that Dekker and Marston, stung by the references in "Hedon" and "Anaiides", were preparing a signal revenge, he resolved to forestall them by a counterstroke of his own, and in fifteen weeks wrote *Poetaster*, in which Horace and the envious poetasters, Crispinus and Demetrius, purport to adumbrate Jonson, Dekker and Marston. The parallel is a very forced one: Jonson had not as yet, in any strict sense, either an Augustus, or a Maecenas, or a Virgil; moreover, his physical aspect was then as different as possible from that of Horace, so much so that the author of *Satiro-mastix* rallied Jonson on the folly of presenting "a goodly Corpulent Gentleman", like Horace, in the person of a "leane hollow-cheekt Scrag" like himself. And after all the apparent hero of the play is Ovid: a gross technical flaw already noticed by Swinburne. The only genuine comic figure of the play is Tucça. A comparison of the judgment scene (Act V, sc. iii) with the similar one in Aristophanes's *Frogs* proves damaging for the English playwright. Jonson's aim in *Poetaster* was not, however, a mere satire. He wanted to give an actual reconstruction, based on historical sources, of the

Augustan literary world; but neither his Horace nor his Virgil is a convincing portrait, although these poets are caused to speak with the words of their own lines, according to a technique which seems more familiar to our time than to Jonson's. A few good comic touches, like Crispinus being forced by the pill to vomit the plagiarised expressions (Act V, sc. iii), a few fine passages of criticism in verse, are not sufficient to give life for us moderns to a play which made a stir in its day, even beyond the author's intention. While pillorying his personal enemies, Jonson had not aimed at increasing their number, as he actually succeeded in doing among citizens of standing, professional persons, lawyers and soldiers as well as players, who protested indignantly against the outrage offered to their orders and to their persons. A storm of retaliatory abuse in pamphlets and satires broke upon Jonson's head; Shakespeare himself descended into the arena in Marston's behalf, to contrive a "purge" for the doughty purveyor of the "pill."

*Eastward Ho* is one of the most compact and successful among plays written in collaboration. Jonson, Chapman, and Marston, then (1604) reconciled to Jonson, had part in it. The stylistic unity of the work makes it difficult to detect the various hands; the joint-authors did not break up their solidarity when they were sentenced to prison in consequence of certain anti-Scotch hints (James I was then on the throne), although only Marston was responsible for them. Marston must have supplied also the plot, based on the prodigal son theme; comparisons with other works of the various authors allow the editors to establish very plausibly, if not completely, the measure of their respective contributions (pp. 40-46 of the second volume of this edition).

*Sejanus his Fall* is a historical drama in the modern sense, i.e. based on a careful study of the sources; the proportion of matter translated or closely paraphrased amounts to a quarter of the whole, with Tacitus at the head of the list. It is a barren tragedy, in which no romantic and passionate chord is touched; barren, but powerful. If we limit the idea of a tragedy to the internal struggle which takes place in the souls of the protagonists, *Sejanus* can hardly be called a tragedy. But in a purely external and Medieval sense, of a sudden passage from prosperity to adversity (cf. *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium*, or *The Mirror for Magistrates*), *Sejanus* is a tragedy, the tragedy of the ambitious criminal who, at the very climax of his triumph, falls headlong into utter ruin. The crafty duplicity of Tiberius, the arrogance of his favourite, were themes calculated to appeal to Jonson's virile genius; some among Sejanus's speeches remind one of the splendid rhetoric of Marlowe's heroes, Barabas, Tamburlaine. The culminating scene, the reading in the Senate-house of the perfidious imperial letter which provokes Sejanus's arrest (Act V), has been invented by Jonson with a very free interpretation of his sources; elsewhere, in the scene in which Livia concerts with Sejanus and Eudemus the murder of Drusus, texts on the cosmetics used by Roman ladies are drawn upon for the sake of satire as well as local colour. On the whole, as Prof. Herford says in his introduction (Vol. II, p. 27), "*Sejanus* is the tragedy of a satirist — of one who felt and saw more intensely the vices and follies than the sorrows of men, and who, with boundless power of scorn, was poorly endowed in pity."

Pity and all tender emotions are, on the contrary, the keynotes of Restoration dramatists; and, were it only for the sake of an amusing contrast, Nathaniel Lee's *Constantine the Great* ought to be read after Ben Jonson's stern Roman tragedy. If a study of sources were enough to make a drama into a historical

one, *Constantine the Great* might be considered as belonging to the class, for, as Walter Häfele shows in his introduction, Lee has grounded his plot on the accounts of Zosimus and Zonaras (which he may have known through Winstanley's *England's Worthies, Select Lives of the most Eminent Persons from Constantine the Great, to the Death of O. Cromwell, 1660*, or through Thomas Beard's *Theatre of Gods Judgments, 1648*), supplementing them from other sources, such as the *Excerpta Valesiana* appended to editions of Ammianus Marcellinus, and Baronius's *Annales ecclesiastici*. As a matter of fact, Lee's Roman princes belong to the same land with Dryden's Indian, Moorish, or Portuguese sovereigns: that no man's land which is also the *pays du tendre*. All for love, all for a night of love: this we found (see *English Studies*, Vol. XV, 1, p. 5), was the central theme of Dryden's dramas; it is also the pith of this very minor (*pace* Montague Summers) *Constantine the Great*, which Metastasio would have called *La Clemenza di Costantino*. "Thou Lov'st indeed who canst refuse a Kingdom", says Dalmatius to Annibal (Act II, l. 348). "Have you Sir enjoy'd her?" — asks frantic Constantine of Crispus. Because if Fausta's virginity is still intact, the furious emperor may listen to reason, otherwise — racks, racks. *Enjoy* and *rack* recur persistently and monotonously throughout the play: both symbols of boundless passions, an ecstasy of love, and an ecstasy of torture. Constantine, Crispus, Annibal, Serena, Fausta, are all at the mercy of this racking Love. Serena's words:

When e're he dies Serena too shall bleed.  
From the same hand, the same Dispatch I crave,  
And, if at last one monument we have,  
What Jobs can Life compare with such a Grave! —

may belong to this play as well as to Dryden's (later) *Don Sebastian*, or to any heroic play written by the end of the seventeenth century. But that pale, red-haired villain, Arius, belongs to an earlier age: he is a distant relative of Machiavellian Barabas.

Rome.

MARIO PRAZ.

*The Seventeenth Century Background.* By BASIL WILLEY.  
viii + 315 pp. London: Chatto and Windus. 1934. 12s. 6d.

It is a characteristic feature of present-day literary criticism in England to regard the tendencies of the 17th century from the standpoint of what in German is called "Geistesgeschichte." Studies of this character are especially helpful for an elucidation of the very difficult problems of the so-called Baroque Age. H. J. C. Grierson (*Cross Currents in English Literature of the 17th Century*, 1929), G. N. Clark (*The Seventeenth Century*, 1929), Vivian de Sola Pinto (*Peter Sterry*, 1934) are among the first to throw new light on facts already well-known.

The author under review belongs to the same group, and his book is one of the best discussions of the intellectual ideals of the time. Though Mr. Willey looks at things in the detached way of a scholar, he is nevertheless deeply imbued not only with the spirit of the 17th century, but also with that

of his own generation. He is an historian in so far as he sees the connecting links between the time of three hundred years ago and the present epoch, though he is only interested in the intellectual atmosphere without regarding the historical facts and events more than necessary.

The author approaches the 17th century from a very interesting side. It is the rejection of scholasticism, without doubt one of the leading tendencies of the time, that interests him most. A new conception of "truth" arises which is no longer consistent with authoritative teaching; "men began to desire the kind which would enable them to measure, to weigh and to control the things around them" (p. 4). In the very illuminating chapter on scholastic thought the author shows that scholasticism was felt to be an obstacle to truth. The question arises whether the intellectual revolution of the 17th century means a re-awakening of the medieval spirit. It is true to say that the Renaissance, in spite of Spenser and his circle, is much more aloof from the Middle Ages than the Baroque Age, when people passionately re-discussed the doctrines of Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus or William of Occam. Sometimes, it is true, Mr. Willey is inclined to underestimate the great complexity and heterogeneity of the period. It is as a result of this attitude that the poet Donne, for example, does not fit in with the author's thesis of the absolute rejection of scholasticism. In his review of my book *Die geistesgeschichtlichen Grundlagen des englischen Literaturbarocks* in vol. XVI, Nr. 5 of this journal Professor Praz reproaches me with having fixed the attention too much on the complexity of the age instead of emphasizing one single predominant tendency. I cannot agree with him in this respect. The more one penetrates into the matter the more difficult it is to find one general principle covering all the aspects of life, unless one tries to simplify things considerably.

In Mr. Willey's book the general introduction into the atmosphere of the 17th century is followed by a series of characters who represent the modern spirit. Bacon, Descartes, Hobbes, Herbert of Cherbury, the Cambridge Platonists are the torch-bearers of the new ideas, especially of the new conception of truth. Bacon postulates truth as twofold. "There is truth of religion and truth of science" (p. 27), a fact which in his opinion ought to be kept in mind in the interest of science. It is evident that such an attempt to solve the conflict between science and religion can only be regarded as temporary. The further development shows that a relation between these two spheres was urgently sought for, with the result that religion became more and more rational, whereas science was gradually amalgamated with irrational and mystical elements. I have tried to give a survey of the development of this conflict in my book.

The chapter on Sir Thomas Browne is particularly interesting, because Mr. Willey does full justice to the learned representative of the Baroque Age, who was a metaphysician and a Baconian at the same time. — Descartes as well as Hobbes attempted to answer the question of what is truth from a philosophical point of view. Descartes demolished one world, so to speak, in order to rebuild a new one, but his thinking was concentrated too much on what was clear and distinct to answer the question in a satisfying manner. Hobbes likewise attacked the stronghold of scholasticism most energetically, but he also leaves too much out of account in the end to become a pioneer of a new truth.

In opposition to them stood a group of thinkers whom Mr. Willey calls rational theologians, though he restricts this notion only to Herbert of Cherbury

and the Cambridge Platonists, who were philosophers rather than theologians. A rational school of theology in the exact sense of the word is led by Chillingworth or Stillingfleet, figures not dealt with in Mr. Willey's book. The author's attitude is partly justified by his conception of the word "reason," which means nearly the same with Herbert and the Cambridge Platonists, but something quite different with Chillingworth and Stillingfleet. Here it is more or less a faculty of human intellect, there a metaphysical power called "the Candle of the Lord." By this latter conception the dualism between faith and reason is diminished. Mind is superior to matter, the soul is no longer dependent on the body, and a spiritual world is built up which has an undisputed hegemony. In this way matter and spirit are united again.

This philosophical discussion represents but a long introduction and preparation for the second part of the book, which deals with the literary aspects. The problem of truth must be considered in close connection with literary criticism. In the chapter "The Heroic Poem in a Scientific Age" the author asks the question: "What are the functions of the poet?" In the Renaissance he was the "vates," whose duty it was to bring a political, philosophical or moral doctrine to mankind. He was not bound to truth in the empirical sense of the word, but was allowed to wrap what he had to say in parables, allegories or fables. In the age of science, however, the world of facts triumphed over the world of fancy.

The question that interests Mr. Willey most is how the 17th century in spite of its scientific conception of truth could produce one of the greatest poems of world literature, Milton's *Paradise Lost*. The answer is very difficult, but Mr. Willey succeeds in throwing much interesting light on the problem. Milton, too, believed in truth and dismissed all romance from his poetry. "But there still remained one source, and one only, from which the seventeenth century Protestant poet could draw images and fables which were not only 'poetic' but also 'true', the Bible." (p. 227). — Cowley justifies the writing of his great epic poem  *Davideis*  in the same way.

In his last chapter Mr. Willey discusses the philosophy of John Locke at full length, because his work is a summing up of the conclusions of the 17th century, and at the same time a starting point for the following period. It is not facts but the new intellectual atmosphere of the time that results from a close analysis of Locke's doctrines. Again the question of truth is essential for his conception of poetry. The word has the scientific bias common to the writers of the preceding generation, but at the same time it often means the same as reason or wit. An examination of 18th century aesthetics would have brought out the great resemblance to theories stated by Dr. Johnson or Pope. — The postscript of the book contains some valuable remarks on Wordsworth who rejected the mechanical or rational conception of truth, and gave it a creative bias.

Mr. Willey's book is a scholarly treatise which covers a wide and varied territory. But the question arises whether it is really the whole background of the age that is under discussion. The new conception of truth and its influence on all departments of spiritual life are very characteristic indeed and will help to solve many problems. But what about the mysticism of the time both in philosophy and poetry, what about the passionate fight against sin, and the ardent longing for redemption, or what about the controversies concerning a new position of man in the universe? These are only a few questions which prove that Mr. Willey deals only with a single though very important part of

the whole problem. That he does so with more subtlety and preciseness than has been done before makes his book one of the best studies of the 17th century, and all who are interested in that period will be grateful for it.

Breslau.

P. MEISSNER.

*The Songs of Thomas D'Urfey.* Selected and edited by CYRUS LAURENCE DAY. (Harvard Studies in English No. ix). Cambridge, Mass.: The Harvard University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1934. \$ 2.50.

To the average student of literature today, the name of Thomas D'Urfey at once suggests the editor of that peculiar volume *Pills to Purge Melancholy*, a typical example of Restoration indelicacy; and until quite recently the phrase "as indecent as Tom D'Urfey" was a commonplace of literary criticism, employed when other terms of disapproval did not seem strong enough. With the recent revival of interest in the literature of the Restoration and the eighteenth century, there has been a tendency to excuse or belittle the alleged indecency of many of the writers of the day, but it is difficult to see how D'Urfey can be granted that indulgence. That does not mean, however, that the estimate placed upon him by the past two or three generations has necessarily been fair or correct. He was indecent, but when we have said that we have not by any means said all. He was a prolific dramatist; during the first fifty years of the eighteenth century his *Pills to Purge Melancholy* went through several editions; with the Augustans he was one of the most popular of the Restoration poets, and as Professor Day has convincingly shown in the present volume, not all of his songs were obscene, while many of them have a charm and naïveté all their own. If the learned world could not appreciate them (and our editor declares that practically all the references to D'Urfey by contemporary criticism that he has been able to discover are far from flattering), the nobility on the one hand and the populace on the other caught their contagion. Of the sixty-eight airs in Gay's *Beggar's Opera* ten are named after D'Urfey's songs, while the poet himself boasted, probably with truth, that he had the honour of singing one of them with Charles II at Windsor, "he holding one part of the paper with me."

Professor Day's introduction falls into two parts — biographical and critical. On the biographical side, though there are still obvious gaps, the editor has brought forward several fresh suggestions and has succeeded in discovering a certain amount of new material. He has, for instance, discovered the record of the death of the poet's mother at Lamerton, Devon, on September 29, 1702, while further researches have brought to his notice a John Durfey, "stacioner at the gate" for Lincoln's Inn in 1665, who was probably a family connection. That D'Urfey was of Huguenot descent, as has been frequently asserted, Professor Day doubts, for if he was a member of the famous D'Urfé family of France he would almost certainly be a strict conformist; besides, the religious sentiments expressed in his early songs and his attack upon Sherlock are far from being consistent with Huguenot leanings.

As was the case with many another writer of that day, D'Urfey's success was largely due to luck. It is difficult to imagine the author of some of the songs which Professor Day has reprinted here as a music teacher in a school for select young ladies; yet that was one of his earliest employments. A chance introduction to the King led to Court patronage, and from that time his fame was made. He lived on terms of intimacy with royalty and nobility until his death in 1723. In 1727 was published a whimsical burlesque play, *The English Stage Italianised*. Written by Thomas D'Urfey, Poet Laureate *de Jure*, the preface to which declared that contrary to general belief, D'Urfey was still alive, "and could be seen any time in his chambers at Windsor Castle". A discussion of the authorship of this piece, and the reasons for its assignation to D'Urfey might have proved interesting. Curiously enough, Professor Day never mentions it.

The text of the book consists of twenty-six of the best songs, together with reproductions of the original music-sheets, while the notes give a bibliographical account of each of the pieces. D'Urfey's own personality is stamped upon every one of them. Whether they echo political sentiments or deal realistically with country life, they are English to the core, as were those of Alexander Brome, his forerunner in this type of ditty. "But", says Professor Day, "one important difference between D'Urfey and Brome should be noted. D'Urfey never had the courage to support the under dog, and transferred his allegiance successively from the Stuarts to William and Mary, and Anne, and George."

But if he was always ready, like the Vicar of Bray after him, to turn his coat when occasion served, in his depiction of the rural life of his day there is less variation. There is none of the false pastoralism of the eighteenth century about these songs of D'Urfey's. Coarse but robust, they spring purely from the native tradition, and if in some instances their frankness is not exactly in good taste when judged by modern standards, they are never really sensual and dissolute as are the more fashionable verses of Rochester and Sedley. Students of the Restoration owe Professor Day a debt of gratitude for his work.

Sheffield.

FREDERICK T. WOOD.

*The Works of Thomas Purney.* Edited by H. O. WHITE, M.A. (Percy Reprints No. XII). Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1933. pp. xxxiv, 111.

Mr. White may, with justice, claim to be the discoverer of Thomas Purney. Some four or five years ago he came upon a small volume of his pastorals in the British Museum, and since then he has been working upon him unceasingly to try and glean rather more information about both the man and his works than has yet come to light. And up to a point he has been successful. In volume XV of *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association* (1930) he published the first results of his researches, and now, in the present volume, he has given us a reprint of all of Purney's works that he has been able to collect together, prefaced by a biographical and critical introduction. The mere fact that the book has been included in the series of

Percy Reprints is sufficient testimony to its merits as a work of scholarship and a reading of the text is enough to convince us that, on their own merits the pieces included were well worth publication.

Even Purney's contemporaries seem to have known little about him, and to have troubled less. Giles Jacob's *Poetical Register* is, indeed, the only authority which has anything at all to say about him; Mr. White, however, has managed to discover a few more facts. So far as can be ascertained, Purney was born on August 1, 1695. His native place is still uncertain, though it is fairly clear from the information he himself affords us that it must have been somewhere in the heart of Kent, "on the banks of the Eden which runs out of the Medway some miles west of Tunbridge". It was in the same locality, it may be recalled, that Christopher Smart was born some half century later, and that Sir Philip Sidney passed some years of his life in the Elizabethan days. Purney, like Smart, went to Cambridge, entering Clare Hall in 1711. Here it was that he first started to write poetry. A volume of pastorals appeared in 1716, followed by a second in the next year; then came a series of critical works. In 1719 he was appointed to the chaplaincy of Newgate, though one imagines that the position must have been anything but congenial to a person of a poetic temperament. However, he held it until 1727, and then he resigned. After that he passed into obscurity. When and where he died are alike unknown, but it is not unlikely that he lies buried somewhere in the Tonbridge or Penshurst district.

In the absence of much external information, we are forced to rely upon the works themselves for any idea of Purney's character and personality. A perusal of them leaves the impression of a very human figure who, so far as literature was concerned, was somewhat out of sympathy with his own age. He might have found something in common with the Restoration lyrists or with the early romantics who were to follow him, but he was no Augustan. True, he commends "the incomparable pastorals of Mr. Phillips", yet the strange thing is that his own pastorals owe much more to Spenser and Gay than to Ambrose Phillips. *Lallet, or the Gentle Shepherdess* is a typical example. Simplicity and realism are the dominating characteristics. There is a certain naïveté about them, which bespeaks an author of deep and clear perception: and the conventional neo-classic diction is practically non-existent. As Mr. White very aptly remarks, "Purney had visionary glimpses of a kind of poetry utterly unlike anything his contemporaries saw fit to write. In his attempts to produce it he anticipated much that later generations were triumphantly to perform". In other words he was a precursor of romanticism. And this is not only true of his poetry, but of his critical work also. Not only does he make a spirited plea for imagination in poetry, not only does he decry the ascendancy of French models and the subservience to neo-classic rules, but in his love of night scenes and the importance he attaches to the gloomy, the melancholy and the terrible, he anticipates the graveyard school of writers. Yet it is significant that he lived in the hey-day of neo-classicism. That proves how very artificial are our literary classifications.

Sheffield.

FREDERICK T. WOOD.

MICHELE RENZULLI: *La Poesia di Shelley*. Roma: Campitelli, 1932. Price L. 20.

That an Italian scholar should write upon Shelley and his poetry is particularly appropriate, for Shelley himself was intimately associated with Italy, and one of the most important influences on his verse, as our present author shows, came from the literature of that country. Professor Renzulli's book is a welcome contribution to the literature which is accumulating around one of the greatest of English poets, and this for a particular reason. Shelley led an extraordinary life; this is probably why so many authors in the past have been drawn to write upon his biography or his personality rather than to make a study of his works. Now Signor Renzulli is concerned almost exclusively with the poetry of Shelley; his life we can read elsewhere. His treatment of his subject, too, is scholarly, exact, and discerning, while every aspect of the poet's art receives its due share of consideration. Balance, in fact, is one of the outstanding features of the book.

The keynote to the author's presentation of the poet is to be found in one word — evolution. Following the works through in an order more or less chronological, Professor Renzulli shows us the development of Shelley's art and technique from the mere tyro stage of the earliest verses, to the peak of achievement in *Prometheus Unbound*. On the technical side of the subject, the book is particularly full and should prove of immense value to those students who wish to make a detailed study of Shelley's poetry, though one or two of the author's opinions may need some qualification. With admirable clearness, for instance, he traces out the growth of the nature-element and the employment of nature-similes in his works; and the section dealing with the contribution of his Swiss tour to the formation of his poetic genius deserves very careful study. But one feels that although Shelley's debt to Dante and Petrarch must have been considerable (especially in such a poem as *The Triumph of Life*) Professor Renzulli is apt to over-estimate it. Some of the resemblances which he stresses are of such a nature that they may have arisen quite independently.

Nevertheless, as I have said, the book is a valuable and discerning study, which merits the attention of all serious students of Shelley and his age. It has that virtue of strict impartiality which is lacking in so many of the treatises on Shelley; and the preface<sup>1</sup>, in which the author attacks the "critica delle stroncature" and pleads for a more tolerant attitude is in itself a most thoughtful scholarly essay.

Sheffield.

FREDERICK T. WOOD.

FREDERICO OLIVERO: *Studi Britannici*. Torino: Fratelli Bocca, 1932. L. 20.

This series of essays is a companion volume to the same author's *Studi su Poeti e Prosatori Inglesi*, published in 1925.<sup>1</sup> The studies, eleven in number,

<sup>1</sup> Translated into English by the present writer in *The Poetry Review* (London), January 1934.

<sup>1</sup> Federico Olivero: *Studi su Poeti e prosatori Inglesi*. Torino. Fratelli Bocca. 1925. L. 45.

are on a variety of subjects, and range from early English times to the present day, though eighteenth and nineteenth century subjects predominate: and in all of them, though there is a certain amount of fact that is more or less well known, there is also much critical material that is new, and deserves careful consideration. Professor Olivero is perfectly at home in the field of English literature, and no matter upon what he writes, his wide sympathy and deep understanding shine patent throughout his work. The chief fault one has to find is that he sometimes chooses subjects in which the scope is so wide that within the brief compass of one essay he cannot do them full justice. This is particularly evident in the first essay, *Echi d'Italia Nella Poesia Anglosassone* and in the fifth, *Accenni Virgiliani nella Letteratura inglese nel secolo XVII e XVIII*. It is when he is writing upon more specific topics that he is at his best, for then he has an opportunity to display to the full his powers of criticism and appreciation. One recalls with special delight the two essays in his former collection on Cowper and Crabbe (essays which go to the very foundations of the poetry of those two contemporaries), as well as that entitled *Sull' Arte di Charles Dickens*, in which the peculiar characteristics of Dickens' writings are expounded in a masterly manner. In the present volume the paper *Il "Canto a Davide" di Christopher Smart* falls into the same category. Called forth by Edmund Blunden's edition of the *Song to David* (1924), it deals with a much neglected poet of the eighteenth century and does something to restore him to his rightful place in the history of English literature. After writing at some length on what he styles "la tendenza dello Smart ad un simbolismo architettonico", he notices the accumulating force and majesty of the *Song*. "Lo spirito poetico dello Smart era prima una fiamma pallida, immota; quindi il vento dell' ispirazione la sconvolse e la fece avvampare in miracolosi splendori." Of this, Smart's chief poem, he concludes thus:

Nello svolgimento della lirica inglese il *Canto a Davide* dello Smart è di singolare importanza, poichè, a parte il suo valore intrinseco, esso prelude — dalla fredda convenzione, dal pallore marmoreo, dall' arte imitativa, fondata su meschini calchi pseudo-classici, dell' età sua — alla sincerità assoluta del Blake, ai liberi selvaggi voli di fantasia del Browning, alla viva colorazione del Rossetti.

The essay on G. K. Chesterton is also well worth study. Dealing with the satirical and humorous gift of Chesterton, its primary purpose is to stress the significance of that author's crusade "contro il disordine morale e materiale, e la crudeltà e la demenza dell' anarchia", symbolised most completely in *The Man who was Thursday*. Other essays deal with Sir Thomas Browne, Webster's *The Duchess of Malfi*, the 1792 campaign in Carlyle and Goethe, and the influence of E. A. Poe on the lyrics of Sarah Helen Whitman; and all are written with the same insight and understanding. It is a pity, though, that Professor Olivero sometimes translates his illustrative passages into Italian. For the benefit of his own countrymen that may be necessary, and prose passages do not lose a great deal in the process; but to translate English poetry into Italian prose is surely something of a licence, especially when so much of the criticism relates to the aesthetic and lyrical qualities of the originals.

Sheffield.

FREDERICK T. WOOD.

*English Poetry in the Later Nineteenth Century.* By B. IFOR EVANS. 9 × 5<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>, xxv. + 404 pp. Methuen, 1933. 10/6 net.

M. Evans, professeur à l'Université de Londres, étudie les poètes qui ont fleuri après 1860 et jusqu'à 1900 environ: D. G. Rossetti, Swinburne, Morris, Patmore, Bridges, Hopkins, Davidson et beaucoup de "moindres puissances." Cela fait un fort bon livre, important, utile, agréable à lire, objectif et bien informé, presque un manuel sur la matière et le complément opportun du *Survey of English Literature* du Prof. Oliver Elton à qui le livre est dédié. M. Elton, en effet, s'arrêtait en 1880.

M. Evans se montre à la fois chroniqueur et critique. Son ouvrage est d'abord un aperçu chronologique sur l'histoire de la poésie pendant la période envisagée. On y trouve une foule de renseignements précis, notamment biographiques. Mais ces derniers ne sont pas un simple remplissage, comme il arrive souvent chez Courthope. Ils se présentent avec une intelligente sobriété, toujours en fonction de l'œuvre; bien que l'auteur ne fasse pas toujours lui-même le rapprochement, il nous fournit tous les éléments d'une comparaison entre l'œuvre et l'homme. Il est assez piquant, pour exemple, d'apprendre les mariages successifs de Coventry Patmore quand on connaît ses premières théories sur l'amour nuptial. M. Evans n'a pas seulement exploré à fond ses poètes, il a lu ce qu'on a publié de mieux à leur sujet en Angleterre et à l'étranger. Voir les notices bibliographiques à la suite de chaque chapitre.

Comme critique, M. Evans est en général impartial et sage, dénué de préjugés, attentif au fond comme à la forme. Son immense lecture lui permet de déterminer avec sûreté les influences et les imitations. Il s'efforce de juger sans passion et l'on peut estimer qu'il manque parfois un peu de chaleur.

Il serait difficile de résumer un aussi gros livre. Nous avons particulièrement goûté les pages sur *Sigurd the Volsung* de Morris, sur le Modernisme de Meredith, sur le scepticisme sans nostalgie et le pessimisme tempéré de compassion de Hardy, sur le mysticisme de Hopkins et l'originalité méconnue de Davidson, inventeur de formes dramatiques nouvelles qui préludent au drame expressionniste.

Il y a dans tout cela beaucoup d'idées et l'on souhaiterait seulement que l'auteur les réunît dans un chapitre un peu plus complet que son Epilogue en guise de conclusion. Souvent il nous laisse le soin de conclure nous-mêmes. Il résulte par exemple de cette enquête, que le besoin de beauté formelle semble décroître dans la poésie anglaise ou que, en d'autres termes, Browning ou Donne ont eu plus de disciples, conscients ou inconscients, que Tennyson ou que Swinburne. Il faut excepter Robert Bridges qui, tout se rapprochant de Meredith et de Hardy par le fond, croit encore à la "magie du langage."

Nous avons l'impression que l'auteur, évitant, par principe, les jugements de valeur, n'a pas mis certains poètes à leur vrai rang. Dans un livre qui passe en revue des poètes aussi "mineurs" que W. Schenk Gilbert, Edward Lear, "Lewis Carroll," il nous semble que Rudyard Kipling méritait plus qu'un simple paragraphe. Quant à Swinburne, bien qu'on lui réserve un nombre de pages respectable, un lecteur non averti ne se douterait pas, à lire M. Evans, de l'éclatante supériorité qui selon nous distingue Swinburne de Morris, de Rossetti, de la plupart de ses contemporains. L'auteur parle beaucoup des études littéraires de Swinburne, de ses lectures, mais ne voit pas ce qu'il y a chez lui de force primitive et spontanée. Il s'attache trop à ses drames qu'on peut considérer aujourd'hui, après plus d'un demi-siècle, comme la partie

caduque de son œuvre. Il est d'avis que la meilleure période de Swinburne fut celle de "l'art pour l'art" ou des *Poèmes et Ballades* et cela peut se défendre. Mais il ne nous fait pas sentir cette prodigieuse révélation, trop oubliée aujourd'hui (comme pour Victor Hugo), d'un génie verbal qui sembla tout à coup donner plus de volume et de sonorité à la langue. On voudrait aussi que l'auteur insistât d'avantage sur l'idéalisme du poète, c'est à dire sur l'enthousiasme avec lequel il embrasse un petit nombre d'idées. M. Evans a très bien vu ce qu'il faut penser des idées de Tennyson: "He (Tennyson) is exploiting poetic resources for contemporary controversies and moral discussion in a language intelligible to the layman" (p. xiv). Tennyson, en un mot, ramasse les idées courantes et les met en vers. Avec une profonde justesse, M. Evans le compare à Pope. Chez Swinburne l'idée, quand elle existe, naît en musique, si l'on peut dire; elle prend des ailes et chante; elle est au cœur du rythme. D'où la sublimité propre à *Hertha*, *Hymn of Man*, *Genesis*, *Tiresias*, poèmes que d'ailleurs M. Evans apprécie hautement.

Ces observations qui ressemblent, nous l'avouons, à un procès de tendance, n'empêchent pas notre admiration pour les éminentes qualités de cet historien et critique. Nous terminerons par le vœu qu'il aborde un jour, dans le même esprit, les poètes du xxe siècle. Nous ne lui ferons pas alors la même querelle. Car ses derniers poètes sont évidemment trop proches de nous pour qu'on leur assigne un rang.

Bruxelles.

PAUL DE REUL.

### Brief Mention.

*The Eclogues of Henrique Cayado.* Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by W. P. MUSTARD. 1931. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press; London: Milford. Pp. 98. \$ 1.50.

This is another of Prof. Mustard's excellent editions of humanist bucolics. But whereas Aeneas Silvius' *De Curialium Miseriis*, which we reviewed on a previous occasion (see *English Studies*, vol. XII, no. 6), interests students of English literature because of Alexander Barclay's imitation, there is only one among Cayado's eclogues which is likely to attract their attention, the fifth, addressed to Robert Langton, Archdeacon of Dorset, then resident in Bologna (1496). The speakers are Langton himself and a fellow-countryman Guilielmus Harynthon (William Harington?). "Lantonus" sings the praises of England, with the customary extravagance of late Latin poetry:

Ad dulcia rura redire,  
Stulte, soli patrii spernis propriosque penates.  
Anxius haud curas aurum quae flumina multum  
Amne uehunt, gemmasque ferunt praediuite ripa.  
Pabula laeta gregi, placidas pastoribus umbras  
Insula nostra dedit; coeli clementia summa est.  
.....  
Non haec Elysiis mutanda est patria campis,  
Gargara cui cedunt, cui cedunt Thessala Tempe.  
Sed quid nota cano?

What is *notum* to one and sundry hardly agrees with these praises, least of all with the reference to *coeli summa clementia*. But such was the pastoral convention. The reader of the second eclogue may also derive some mild amusement from the heroic picture of the

poet's bathing in a fish-pond near Florence and catching a violent chill (*illum sua fata trahebant*!). Cayado describes his own limbs, which he bares for the swim, as *robustos*. In fact Erasmus in his *Adagia* describes Hermicus, i.e. Cayado, as *vir corpore supra modum obeso, et ob id spirituosus*.

Ergo ubi saepe pedes mouit mouitque lacertos  
Atque instar mergi totum sese obruit amne,  
Frigoris impatiens rediit, subitoque tremore  
Labraque non uiolis unquam cedentia rubris  
Accipiunt quem mora ferunt matura colorem.  
Paulatimque caput penetrat penetratque cerebrum  
Et titubare facit missis iam uiribus artus  
Nausea languentes, uersatque per omnia sensus.  
Mox tandem procumbit humi sine uoce; putares  
Funesta rapuisse manu sua fila Sorores.

The recalling of Virgil's *procumbit humi bos* is irresistible, and gives the finishing touch to the idealised picture of the fat Portuguese poet catching a chill in a fish-pond. — M. P.

*Nachwirkungen D. G. Rossetti's.* Von H. KLENK. 61 pp.  
Inaugural Dissertation, Erlangen. 1932.

Ce travail soigneux comprend une partie théorique, savoir I, *Idées, sujets, images*, II, *Diction*, suivie d'une revue des poètes influencés par D. G. Rossetti, savoir Christina Rossetti, Coventry Patmore, Phil. B. Marston, Th. Watts-Dunton, A. O'Shaughnessy, E. Dowson, J. Davidson. Le poète aveugle Philip Bourke Marston semble avoir adopté les idées de Rossetti sans leur opposer une réaction très personnelle et tombe souvent dans l'imitation presque littérale. Christina Rossetti diffère profondément de son frère par son ascétisme. Coventry Patmore demeure original par sa foi catholique. Watts-Dunton, qui a représenté D. G. Rossetti dans le peintre D'Arcy de son roman *Aylwin*, a taché d'être son émule dans les sonnets et n'y est point parvenu. O'Shaughnessy s'inspire surtout de la mystique amoureuse du maître. Le poème de Dante Gabriel qui eut le plus de rayonnement fut certainement *La Demoiselle bénie* (*The Blessed Damsel*). La plupart des disciples ont hérité du sérieux artistique de Rossetti et n'ont pas toujours évité, selon notre auteur, un de ses défauts, l'excès de travail et de correction (*Ueberbearbeitung*). — P. de R.

## Bibliography.

**Neophilologus.** XIX, 1. Oct. 1933. E. Buyssens, On some rare instances of distributed stress (37-46). — J. B. van Amerongen, Some notes on Bernard Shaw as a dramatist (46-52). — *Id.* XIX, 2. Jan. 1934. A. E. H. Swaen, *Seel, ciller, désiller*, enz. (111-115). — *Id.* XIX, 3. April 1934. B. A. P. van Dam, A prompt-book text of *The Alchemist* and its important lesson (205-220). — *Id.* XIX, 4. July 1934. D. C. Boughner, *The Drinking Academy* and contemporary London (272-283).

**De Drie Talen.** 49. June 1933. L. P. H. Eijkman, Woordorde in een indirecte vraag met to be (81-84). — *Id.* 49. July 1933. E. Kruisinga, De voornaamwoorden op -one en -body (97-99). — *Id.* 50. June & July 1934. E. Kruisinga, De volgorde van de woorden (81-84, 97-101). — *Id.* 50. Oct. & Nov. 1934. L. P. H. Eijkman, *One* (129-133, 145-152).

**The Review of English Studies.** X, 37. Jan. 1934. A. Hart, Acting versions of Elizabethan plays. — R. Pruvost, The source of George Turberville's *Tragical Tales*, Nos. 2, 5, and 8. — A. Walker, The life of Thomas Lodge, II. — O. E. Holloway, George Ellis, the *Anti-Jacobin* and the *Quarterly Review*. — *Id.* X, 38. April 1934. H. G.

Wright, Unpublished letters from Theodore Watts-Dunton to Swinburne. — R. Hughey, Forgotten verses by Ben Jonson, George Wither, and others to Alice Sutcliffe. — M. J. Sargeaunt, Writings ascribed to John Ford by Joseph Hunter in *Chorus Vatican*. — S. Rosenfeld, Sir George Etherege in Ratisbon. — C. O. Parsons, The woes of Thomas de Quincey. — *Id.* X, 39, July 1934, J. M. Manly, Three recent Chaucer studies. — A. Hart, Shakespeare and the vocabulary of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. — E. M. Simpson, More manuscripts of Donne's *Paradoxes and Problems*. — B. Evans, Dr. Johnson's theory of biography. — W. Matthews, The piracies of Macklin's *Love à la Mode*. — E. Kruisinga, On some uses of *one*. — *Id.* X, 40, Oct. 1934, S. G. West, The work of W. J. Mickle, the first Anglo-Portuguese scholar. — D. C. Collins, On the date of *Sir Thomas More*. — E. M. Simpson, More manuscripts of Donne's *Paradoxes and Problems*. — K. Povey, Cowper and Lady Austen. — K. H. Coburn, S. T. Coleridge's philosophical lectures of 1818-19. — J. M. S. Tompkins reviews Overman, *An Investigation into the Character of Fanny Burney*.

**The Modern Language Review.** XXIX, 1, Jan. 1934, G. D. Willcock, Passing Pitefull Hexameters. — J. W. Draper, The theme of *Timon of Athens*. — *Id.* XXIX, 2, April 1934, M. C. Pitman, The epigrams of Henry Peacham and Henry Parrot. — J. R. Sutherland, A note on the last years of Defoe. — Short notices of *Vertellingen van de Pelgrims naar Kantelberg*, tr. A. J. Barnouw, and of Overman, *An Investigation into the Character of Fanny Burney*. — *Id.* XXIX, 3, July 1934, D. V. Ives, The proverbs in the *Ancren Riwle*. — J. Butt, Izaak Walton's collections for Fulman's Life of John Hales. — S. G. West, *Cumnor Hall*: the analogue of Scott's *Kenilworth*. — H. G. Wright, Influence of George Borrow in Norway and Sweden. — *Id.* XXIX, 4, Oct. 1934, I. A. Gordon, Skelton's *Philip Sparrow* and the Roman service-book. — W. Matthews, Samuel Pepys, tachygraphist.

**Medium Ævum.** III, 1, Febr. 1934, G. Bone, *The Seafarer*. — H. G. Pfander, The mediaeval friars and some alphabetical reference-books for sermons. — A. McL. Trounce, The English tail-rhyme romances. — C. F. Bühler, Lydgate's *Rules of Health* in MS. Lansdowne 699. — *Id.* III, 2, June 1934, J. R. R. Tolkien, *Sigdwara land* (concluded). — N. R. Ker, Some notes on the Peterborough Chronicle. — *Id.* III, 3, Oct. 1934, S. O. Andrews, Some principles of Old English word-order. — M. Day, Two notes on *Pearl*.

**American Speech.** IX, 1, Febr. 1934, R. W. Zandvoort, Standards of English in Europe. — E. Culbertson, Terms in Contract Bridge. — J. Jones, Hail, Fredonia! — H. B. Logie, Medical nomenclature. — J. L. Kuethe, Prison parlance. — J. F. McDermott, French surnames in the Mississippi valley. — R. C. Pooley, Subject-verb agreement. — K. E. Wheatley, Southern standards. — S. Gehman, Isaac Hunsicker's copy-books. — J. E. Reinecke & A. Tokimasa, The English dialect of Hawaii. — *Id.* IX, 2, April 1934, T. A. Knott, Standard English and incorrect English. — H. Penzl, New England terms for "poached eggs." — E. L. Masters, William Marion Reedy. — J. R. Aiken, English as the international language. — L. J. Davidson, Auto-tourist talk. — I. W. Russell, The "All ... Not" idiom. — J. E. Reinecke & A. Tokimasa, The English dialect of Hawaii. — A. W. Read, The Philological Society of New York, 1788. — E. R. Ahrend, Ontario speech. — *Id.* IX, 3, Oct. 1934, M. West, English as a world language. — L. Pound, On the linguistics of dreams. — J. D. Prince, Surinam Negro-English. — W. E. Thompson, Frontier tall talk. — G. A. Reichard, Understatement or naïveté. — A. W. Read, Words indicating social status. — G. P. Wilson, Some unrecorded southern vowels. — *Id.* IX, 4, Dec. 1934, Ph. Aronstein, On style and styles in languages. — E. V. K. Dobbie, Bibliography of the writings of G. P. Krapp. — R. Withington, Children of linguistic fashion. — R. W. Smith, A Tennessean's pronunciation in 1841. — A. W. Read, An obscenity symbol. — R. M. Underhill, Vocabulary and style in an Indian language. — D. Geller, Lingo of the shoe salesman. — H. Sebastian, Negro slang in Lincoln University. — J. R. Aiken, O'Rourke and Leonard.

**ELH.** A Journal of English Literary History<sup>1</sup>. I, 1, April 1934, C. G. Osgood, Verse in Spenser's prose. — R. Heffner, Essex, the ideal courtier. — K. Koller, Spenser and Raleigh. — W. R. Richardson, Sir William Davenant as American colonizer. — L. F. Ball, The background of the minor English Renaissance epics. — *Id.* I, 2, L. I. Bredvold, The tendency toward Platonism in neo-classical esthetics. — R. D. Havens, Wordsworth's shipwrecked geometrician. — *Id.* *Descriptive Sketches* and *The Prelude*. — S. W. Steven-

<sup>1</sup> See *E.S.* XVI (1934), 218.

son, "Romantic" tendencies in Pope. — E. N. Hooker, An unpublished autograph manuscript of John Dennis. — A. E. DuBois, Shakespeare and the 19th-century drama. — R. A. Aubin, Materials for a study of the influence of *Cooper's Hill*. — *Id.* I, 3, Dec. 1934. R. S. Crane, Suggestions toward a genealogy of the "Man of Feeling." — W. L. Phelps, Landor and Browning. — H. Spenser, Tate and *The White Devil*. — H. F. Scott-Thomas, Nahum Tate and the seventeenth century. — J. G. McManaway, Philip Massinger and the Restoration drama. — R. H. Perkinson, A Restoration "improvement" of *Doctor Faustus*. — R. G. Noyes, Contemporary musical settings of the songs in Restoration drama.

**Studies in Philology.** XXX, 1, Jan. 1933. M. Hammond, *Concilia Deorum* from Homer through Milton. — C. G. Curtiss, The York and Towneley Plays on *The Harrowing of Hell*. — M. Doran, Elements in the composition of *King Lear*. — D. W. Thompson, Japan and the *New Atlantis*. — R. B. Sharpe, The sources of Richard Brome's *The Novella*. — M. Parlett, The influence of contemporary criticism on George Eliot. — *Id.* XXX, 2, April 1933. Elizabethan Studies: Eighteenth Series. R. Tuve, A mediaeval commonplace in Spenser's cosmology. — I. L. Schulze, Notes on Elizabethan chivalry and *The Faerie Queene*. — J. W. Bennett, Spenser's Venus and the goddess Nature of the *Cantos of Mutabilitie*. — B. Stirling, The concluding stanzas of *Mutabilitie*. — J. M. French, Lamb and Spenser. — J. S. G. Bolton, *Titus Andronicus*: Shakespeare at thirty. — J. W. Draper, The realism of Shakespeare's Roman plays. — H. Craig, Recent literature of the English Renaissance. — *Id.* XXX, 3, July 1933. W. C. Curry, The demonic metaphysics of *Macbeth*. — L. Borland, Herman's *Bible* and the *Cursor Mundi*. — D. T. Starnes, Barnabe Riche's "Sappho Duke of Mantona": a study in Elizabethan story-making. — A. M. Sampley, "Verbal tests" for Peele's plays. — R. Gottfried, Milton, Lactantius, Claudian and Tasso. — A. D. McKillop, A critic of 1741 on early poetry. — A. C. Howell and R. B. Sharpe, Recent publications: studies in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. — F. Hard, Lamb and Spenser again. — *Id.* XXX, 4, Oct. 1933. M. Hearsey, Sidney's *Defense of Poesy* and Amyot's *Preface* in North's *Plutarch*: a relationship. — S. Spiker, George Wilkins and the authorship of *Pericles*. — G. Williamson, The Restoration revolt against enthusiasm. — C. O. Parsons, Demonological background of "Donnerhugel's Narrative" and "Wandering Willie's Tale." — L. Brown, The genesis, growth, and meaning of *Endymion*. — *Id.* XXXI, 1, Jan. 1934. H. K. Russell, Tudor and Stuart dramatizations of the doctrines of natural and moral philosophy. — A. Harbage, An unnoted Caroline dramatist. — G. W. Whiting, A late seventeenth century Milton plagiarism. — J. M. Stein, Horace Walpole and Shakespeare. — D. Macmillan, David Garrick as critic. — C. W. Roberts, Wordsworth, *The Philanthropist*, and *Political Justice*. — J. M. French, Lamb and Milton. — *Id.* XXXI, 2, April 1934. Elizabethan Studies: Nineteenth Series. L. B. Wright, A conduct book for Malvolio. — C. W. Lemmi, Britomart: the embodiment of true love. — C. G. Smith, The ethical allegory of the two Florimels. — J. V. Fletcher, Some observations on the changing style of the *Faerie Queene*. — F. T. Bowers, The audience and the revenger of Elizabethan tragedy. — C. T. Wright, Some conventions regarding the usurer in Elizabethan literature. — F. B. Williams, Jr., John Bodenham, "Art's Lover, Learning's Friend." — W. S. Hoole, Thomas Middleton's use of *imprese* in *Your Five Gallants*. — H. Craig, Recent literature of the English renaissance. — *Id.* XXXI, 3, July 1934. D. Winters, A new source for Lancelot's madness. — A. Warren, The reputation of Crashaw in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. — R. A. Aubin, Grottoes, geology, and the Gothic revival. — E. L. Avery, Dancing and pantomime on the English stage, 1700-1737. — H. Drennon, Scientific rationalism and James Thomson's poetic art. — N. I. White, Shelley's biography: the primary sources. — F. L. Jones, Byron's last poem. — W. A. Eddy, Interpreters of the Age of Swift. — R. L. Sharp, Some light on metaphysical obscurity and roughness. — L. G. Wright, Eighteenth-century replies to Pope's *Eloisa*. — B. Weaver, Wordsworth's *Prelude*: an intimation of certain problems in criticism. — E. Marchand, The literary opinions of Charles Brockden Brown. — M. L. Howe, Robert Browning and William Allingham. — W. O. Raymond, Browning's dark mood: a study of *Fifine at the Fair*. — T. H. V. Motter, A check list of Matthew Arnold's Letters.

**Modern Philology.** XXXI, 1, Aug. 1933. J. S. P. Tatlock, Geoffrey and King Arthur in *Normannicus Draco*. — R. C. Bald, Middleton's civic employments. — J. R. Moore, Coleridge's indebtedness to Paltock's *Peter Wilkins*. — *Id.* XXXI, 2, Nov. 1933. J. S. P. Tatlock, Geoffrey and King Arthur in *Normannicus Draco* (Concluded). — J. Q. Adams, The quarto of *King Lear* and shorthand. — L. B. Wright, William Painter and the vogue of Chaucer as a moral teacher. — D. C. Dorian, The question of autobiographical

significance in *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*. — R. W. Seitz, Goldsmith and the *Annual Register*. — *Id.* XXXI, 3. Febr. 1934. D. M. Wolfe, Milton, Lilburne, and the people. — R. S. Crane, Anglican apologetics and the idea of progress, 1699-1745. — *Id.* XXXI, 4. May 1934. R. S. Crane, Anglican apologetics and the idea of progress, 1699-1745 (Concluded). — A. L. Strout, John Wilson, "Champion" of Wordsworth. — W. D. Templeman, et al., Victorian Bibliography for 1933.

**Modern Language Notes.** XLVII, 8. Dec. 1932. F. H. Wilkens reviews Van Hamel, *Gotisch Handboek*, 2nd ed. — *Id.* XLVIII, 1. Jan. 1933. R. Quintana, The Butler-Oxenden correspondence. — W. Kurrelmeyer, Thackeray and Friedrich von Heyden. — F. Schneider, Browning's *The Ring and the Book* and Wassermann's *Der Fall Maurizius*. — W. E. Gibbs, Two unpublished notes by S. T. Coleridge. — J. C. Thirlwall, Cardinal Newman's literary preferences. — J. C. French, First drafts of Lanier's verse. — O. E. Horton, The neck of Chaucer's Friar. — B. B. Wainwright, Chaucer's Prioress again: an interpretive note. — S. Robertson, The Chaucerian-American "I guess." — T. A. Zunder, Whitman interviews Barnum. — *Id.* XLVIII, 2. Febr. 1933. G. Boas, An eightfold confusion in aesthetic evaluations. — L. A. Vigneras, Monday as a date for medieval tournaments. I. A propos du *Lai de l'Ombre*. — S. Painter, Monday as a date for medieval tournaments. II. In England. — K. Young, An "Interludium" for a gild of Corpus Christi. — M. Schorer, *She Stoops to Conquer*: a parallel. — J. M. Edmunds, An example of early sentimentalism. — J. K. Neill, Thomas Drue's *Dutches of Suffolke* and the succession. — R. B. Sharpe, James Hill, Player. — G. R. Potter, Isis' Ass and the Elizabethans. — F. T. Bowers, *Alphonsus, Emperor of Germany*, and the *Ur-Hamlet*. — F. C. Bradford, Shakespeare and Bacon as horticultural prophets. — C. Camden, Jr., A note on *Pericles*. — H. N. Hillebrand, Dramatic miscellany. — *Id.* XLVIII, 3. March 1933. W. L. Schramm, The cost of books in Chaucer's time. — D. M. Norris, Harry Bailey's "Corpus Madrian." — H. B. Hinckley, The grete Emetreus the King of Inde. — E. N. Hooker, Johnson's understanding of Chaucer's metrics. — R. E. Bennett, The addition to Donne's "Catalogus Librorum." — J. DeL. Ferguson, Burns and Jenny Clow. — E. L. Griggs, Hazlitt's estrangement from Coleridge and Wordsworth. — M. L. Howe, Some unpublished stanzas by Dante Gabriel Rossetti. — C. K. Hyder, Emerson on Swinburne: a sensational interview. — S. L. Williams, Washington Irving, Matilda Irving, Matilda Hoffman, and Emily Foster. — *Id.* XLVIII, 4. April 1933. W. G. Zeeveld, The uprising of the commons in Sidney's *Arcadia*. — E. A. Strathmann, A manuscript copy of Spenser's *Hymnes*. — R. Heffner, Did Spenser die in poverty? — J. W. Draper, Spenser's use of the perfective prefix. — J. Wurtsbaugh, The 1758 editions of "The Faerie Queene." — A. H. Gilbert, Spenser's Cymocles. — G. S. Greene, Bacon a source for Drummond. — R. Blanchard, Some unpublished letters of Richard Steele to the Duke of Newcastle. — L. M. Knapp, More Smollett letters. — R. L. Collins, An early edition of B. M. Carew. — C. M. Webster, A possible source for *A Tale of a Tub*. — *Id.* XLVIII, 5. [Nothing on English.] — *Id.* XLVIII, 6. June 1933. M. Alterton, An additional source for Poe's *The Pit and the Pendulum*. — G. P. Smith, Poe's Metzengerstein. — L. Howard, Wordsworth in America. — A. Warren, Crashaw's paintings at Cambridge. — D. Brown, "Solus" in *The Miller's Tale*. — E. Bernbaum, Recent works on prose fiction before 1800. — K. Malone, Some linguistic studies of 1931 and 1932 (includes a notice of Kruisinga, *Handbook*, 5th ed. "... a tour de force, brilliant and exceedingly valuable, but incomplete by virtue of its omissions and its point of view, as well as inconsistent in its execution."). — *Id.* XLVIII, 7. Nov. 1933. E. E. Stoll, Belial as an example. — M. L. Radoff, Influence of the French farce in *Henry V* and *The Merry Wives*. — R. A. Newhall, An historical Bardolph. — R. W. Babcock, The text of Pope's *To Mrs. M. B. On Her Birth-Day*. — M. E. Borish and W. R. Richardson, Holland's *Livy*, 1600, and the 1686 version. — H. C. Webster, Borrowings in *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*. — R. S. Crane, "Oliver Goldsmith, M. B." — *Id.* XLVIII, 8. Dec. 1933. H. Braddy, New documentary evidence concerning Chaucer's missions to Lombardy. — C. L. Rosenthal, A possible source of Chaucer's *Booke of the Duchesse* — *Li Regret de Guillaume* by Jehan de La Mote. — E. P. Hammond, Chaucer's *Book of the Twenty-Five Ladies*. — J. E. Wells, *The Owl and the Nightingale* and MS Cotton. — A. S. C. Ross, 'Scribal Preference' in the Old English Gloss to the *Lindisfarne Gospels*. — E. B. Dike, The *NED*: words of divination and onomatopoeic terms. — G. H. Gerould, New evidence for Middle English "bef." — T. A. Kirby, As good chepe. — E. Shanks, "Mainpast." — H. Baker, Some blank verses written by Thomas Norton before *Gorboduc*. — J. W. Ashton, Revision in Munday's *John a Kent and John a Cumber*. — G. W. Whiting, The Hoe-Huntington folio of Jonson. — *Id.* XLIX, 1. Jan. 1934. C. Gohdes, Getting ready for Brook Farm. — M. L. Howe, A dramatic skit by Dante Gabriel Rossetti.

- F. L. Jones, *Paradise Lost*, I, 549-62. — E. S. Parsons, Milton's seasonal inspiration. — B. Harris, "Letter to C-W." — *Id.* XLIX, 2. Febr. 1934. H. B. Hinckley, The framing tale. — J. E. Hankins, Chaucer and the *Pervigilium Veneris*. — E. E. Slaughter, "Allas! Allas! that ever love was sinne!". — T. Kant, Chaucer's age and the prologues to the Legend. — K. Garvin, A note on Noah's wife. — R. N. Bowers, Lydgate's *The Churl and the Bird*, MS Harley 2407, and Elias Ashmole. — J. Hammer, Note on Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* VI. 12 and VI. 15. — H. Ward, Should there be any plurals in 'oes'? — J. L. Kuethe, 'Stir' and 'chive'. — D. C. Allen, Early eighteenth-century literary relations between England and Germany. — K. J. Arndt, Poe's *Politian* and Goethe's *Mignon*. — J. R. MacGillivray, The date of composition of *The Borderers*. — E. G. Ainsworth, Jr., Another source of the "lonesome road" stanza in *The Ancient Mariner*. — *Id.* XLIX, 3. March 1934. T. P. Harrison, Jr., Spenser, Ronsard, and Bion. — I. Baroway, Tremellius, Sidney, and biblical verse. — A. H. Nethercot, Milton, Jonson, and the young Cowley. — F. R. B. Godolphin, Milton, *Lycidas* and Propertius, *Elegies*, III, 7. — G. W. Whiting, Milton's rules for '-ed.' — H. F. Scott-Thomas, The date of Nahum Tate's death. — H. Stein, Goldsmith's translation of the *Roman Comique*. — P. B. Anderson, English drama transferred to Prévost's fiction. — *Id.* XLIX, 4. April 1934. J. M. Manly, Chaucer's mission to Lombardy. — Carleton Brown, The Squire and the number of the Canterbury pilgrims. — L. McCorry Myers, A line in the Reeve's Prologue. — W. R. Moses, An appetite for form. — M. Schlauch, Chaucer's Merchant's Tale and a Russian legend of King Solomon. — H. L. Savage, A note on *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, 2035. — S. H. Thomson, A XIIIth century 'Oure Fader' in a Pavia MS. — G. H. Gerould, Thunor in Kent. — E. Shanks, Anglo-Norman 'Suite' 'Work(?)'. — F. Ewen, John Gibson Lockhart, propagandist of German literature. — A. E. Bestor, Jr., Emerson's adaptation of a line from Spenser. — *Id.* XLIX, 5. May 1934. D. Bish, The date of Keats's *Fall of Hyperion*. — C. O. Parsons, The Highland feasts of Fergus MacIvor and Lord Lovat. — M. L. Howe, Dante Gabriel Rossetti's comments on *Maud*. — E. Feise, Problems of lyric form. — L. Howard, A predecessor of Moby-Dick. — E. C. Averill, An undiscovered bit of verse by Longfellow. — R. G. Ham, Dryden and the Colleges. — C. L. Day, A lost play by D'Urfey. — E. T. Norris, A possible origin of Congreve's Sailor Ben. — Brief mention of Reesink, *L'Angleterre et la Littérature anglaise dans les trois plus anciens périodiques français de Hollande de 1684 à 1709*. — *Id.* XLIX, 6. June 1934. H. N. Paul, Players' quartos and duodecimos of *Hamlet*. — T. M. Parrott, Errors and omissions in the Griggs facsimile of the second quarto of *Hamlet*. — H. E. Cain, Marlowe's "French Crowns." — D. C. Allen, A source for *Cambises*. — K. Neill, Spenser's "Shamefastnesse," *Faerie Queene*, II. ix. 40-44. — J. G. McManaway, "Occasion," *Faerie Queene*, II. iv. 4-5. — G. P. Faust, A Spenser parallel. — Carleton Brown, Sermons and miracle plays. — R. W. Ackerman, "Tester": *Knight's Tale*, 2499. — B. W. A. Massey, The division of words. — R. B. Williams, An omission from Curme's *Syntax*. — R. A. Aubin, A note on eighteenth-century progress pieces. — E. L. Avery, An early performance of Fielding's *Historical Register*. — *Id.* XLIX, 7. Nov. 1934. E. E. Stoll, The "Beau Monde" at the Restoration. — C. Niemeyer, The Earl of Roscommon's Academy. — H. N. Paul, Mr. Hughs' edition of *Hamlet*. — L. Bradner, An allusion to Bromley in the *Shepherds' Calendar*. — A. McHarg Hayes, Wyatt's letters to his son. — M. R. Morrison, Greene's use of Ariosto in *Orlando Furioso*. — D. C. Allen, Neptune's "Agar" in Lyly's *Galathea*. — E. R. Gerhardt, Ben Jonson's appreciation of Chaucer as evidenced in *The English Grammar*. — L. B. Campbell, The lost play of *Æsop's Crow*. — F. M. Salter, An unnoticed acrostic and an inglorious poet. — C. Brooks, Chaucer: "Saturn's Daughter." — J. B. Severs, The Job passage in the *Clerkes Tale*. — J. H. Smith, Gawain's leap: G. G. K. I. 2316. — *Id.* XLIX, 8. Dec. 1934. C. D. Thorpe, Thomas Hamner and the anonymous essay on *Hamlet*. — H. E. Rollins, An Elizabethan ballad of Malmerophus and Sillera. — G. T. Buckley, Who was "The Late Arrian"? — R. L. Sharp, The pejorative use of "metaphysical." — M. Kelley, Milton, Ibn Ezra, and Wollebius. — R. A. Aubin, Some eighteenth-century sonnets. — B. H. Bronson, James Robertson, poet and playwright. — R. C. Bald, A new letter from Charles Lamb. — T. R. Palfrey, Balzac in England. — E. Bernbaum, Recent works on prose fiction before 1800.

## The Earlier English Works of Sir Thomas More

Sir Thomas More has always been dear to Englishmen. Ever since his death he has been, despite a changed faith, a popular favourite, beloved of all for his sweetness and nobility of character — from the Elizabethan play of *Sir Thomas More*, in which he is celebrated as a London hero<sup>1</sup>, to the charming Victorian *Household of Sir Thomas More* of Miss Manning. And there has been a constant stream of biographies of More from the sixteenth century to the present day. Not, however, that the story of his fame has been altogether simple and straightforward — for when on 6 July 1535 he died it was as a traitor on the scaffold, and ugly stories were circulated about his cruelties to heretics. For he died in the fiercest of all struggles, a religious quarrel — in which no quarter is given. Lives of More were written by his friends and disciples in exile abroad: by his son-in-law William Roper, who set down briefly his own personal reminiscences, as material for the use of Nicholas Harpsfield, whom he commissioned to write the first full-length biography of More; by his nephew William Rastell; and in Latin by Thomas Stapleton. But these were Catholic Lives claiming More as a martyr for the Faith, and could not be printed in Protestant England — with the happy exception of Roper's short sketch which, first printed abroad, eventually won in England a popularity which it has retained in edition after edition till to-day. Later composite Catholic Lives, based on Roper, Harpsfield and Stapleton — one by an author who has left us only his initials, "Ro. Ba.", and another by More's great-grandson, Cresacre More — were published, it is true, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but the original contemporary Lives have remained in manuscript until recently, while Rastell's *Life*, probably the fullest of all, is lost. And the fate of More's own writings has been similar. Universally known and admired as scholar, lawyer and statesman, More is to-day almost entirely forgotten as a writer — except, of course, of the Latin *Utopia*. But he wrote a good deal, principally, too, in English. The bulk of his work, however, is Catholic controversy — undertaken against his inclination, be it remembered, at the command of Henry VIII, and continuing the work begun by the King himself in the book which, ironically enough, gained for him the title of *Sacræ Fidei Defensor* — and this also could not be reprinted in a Protestant England. During More's lifetime his books were nearly all printed by his nephew, William Rastell, who on his uncle's death preserved them carefully through dangerous times, taking them with him eventually into exile. The brief reign of Mary gave him the opportunity of realising his life's ambition, and in 1557 he published, in one of the best edited and best printed volumes of the sixteenth century, a collected edition of More's English Works, a magnificent folio which, as a memorial raised by the loving devotion of his disciples to one of the greatest of Englishmen, can be paralleled only by the First Folio of Shakespeare. And although with the death of Mary in the following year the opportunity

---

<sup>1</sup> And in which Shakespeare had a hand, leaving us incidentally three precious pages of his autograph.

had gone of printing either the early Lives or anything further of More's, Rastell's splendid volume sufficed to enable the discerning, from Ascham to Hallam at the beginning of the nineteenth century, to estimate justly More's importance in the history of English literature, and his reputation as a writer of English prose was high.

With the nineteenth century, however, and the spread of education, we reach a new stage in the history of More's fame. History and literature became the interest now, not of the few, but of the many — with the result that the demand for books far exceeded the supply. Copies of the few old editions of early Lives were no longer sufficiently numerous to go round, and new 'popular' Lives of More were written, in ever increasing numbers. It was a pleasant and grateful task, indeed, to retell the story of the wise and witty Chancellor whose personal charm endeared him to all with whom he came into contact, and to describe his relations with his friends all over England and the continent and with his happy household at Chelsea. But then came the difficulty of the final stage of More's career, and in their interpretation of this the biographers took their lead from the historians. Now the official historians of Protestant England, in the nineteenth century as in Elizabethan days, saw Henry VIII as a champion of religious liberty, justification of whom involved the condemnation of More. Repeating the charges of persecution, they regarded More as in later life a narrow-minded and intolerant bigot whose obstinate perversity brought down on himself the troubles which overwhelmed him; while even to the most sympathetic biographer More's death, heroic though that was, became an unfortunate mistake, to be passed over as unobtrusively as possible. Thus arose a view, prevalent to our own day, of More's career as one opening in full promise but ending in tragic failure. Side by side with this, however, from the time when the news of More's execution shocked all Europe, has persisted the Catholic view, which regards his death, not as a failure, but as a heroic and triumphant climax to a blameless life, and this claim, voiced in England by a small but steadily growing band, was recognised at long last in 1886, when More, together with his friend and companion in death, John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, was beatified.

This is not the occasion on which to discuss the validity of the principles for which More died. That is a question which involves the whole issue between Protestant and Catholic, and, since this has not yet been settled, opinions must remain partisan: it is *aut* Henry *aut* More — one cannot be on both sides. But there is another question of a different kind, one, moreover, of interest to all admirers of More: the problem, namely, of his personal character. There are many who, while believing More a merciless bigot, are quite prepared to ignore this and to concentrate their admiration on his early promise. But such an attitude is eminently unsatisfactory. For if the charges of persecution against More are true, then he is no hero at all, but a blackguard and a liar, for he himself denied them. If these blemishes on his character exist, then they are serious and cannot be slurred over lightly. Happily this is a matter not of mere subjective opinion but of objective demonstration. For it has been the work of the twentieth century — once and for all, it is to be hoped — to clear More's character, and to prove that the stories of persecution and cruelty were in origin mere malicious slanders which have remained in currency mainly owing to the fact that the genuine tradition as given by the contemporary Lives was not known nor More's own writings generally accessible. It is evidence, too, that this is no mere partisan judgment, that it is principally non-Catholic

scholarship which has finally vindicated More and removed the blemishes from his fair name. One likes to know, after all, that even an adversary was an honest man. And it is cause for rejoicing, indeed, to all Englishmen, a matter of national pride, that in May, exactly four hundred years after his death, Blessed Thomas More is to be raised to the highest honours of the altar, and his name, together with that of Blessed John Fisher, to be added to the long roll of the canonised saints of the Church.

It may be of some interest, before proceeding to the discussion of some of More's works which is the chief concern of this article, to give a summary sketch of recent work on More and to indicate briefly his place in English literature. For the present century, especially since the War, has seen a great revival of interest in More, and he seems at last to be coming into his own. A great deal has already been done, for the number of workers on More is large, among whom, however, none have done more distinguished work than Professors R. W. Chambers and A. W. Reed. In 1925 Prof. Reed in a notable essay<sup>2</sup> emphasised More's consistency of mind, while in the following year, in a paper read before the British Academy<sup>3</sup>, Prof. Chambers thoroughly investigated the whole question and completely vindicated More's character against the historians, showing that the neglected Tudor biographies, which he calls the 'Saga', give us a true picture of More, the modern accounts representing a mere Myth which is utterly contradicted by all the documentary evidence. Prof. Chambers has also given an excellent account<sup>4</sup>, very inadequately summarised above, of the way in which the Myth grew up. For More's biography a first necessity has been to make accessible the early Lives. Of Roper's *Life* a good edition has existed since 1817<sup>5</sup>, but a full critical edition up to modern requirements is in preparation by Dr. Elsie V. Hitchcock, who has already published from MSS. for the first time a magnificent edition of Harpsfield's *Life*<sup>6</sup>, together with the few extant fragments, relating to Fisher, of Rastell's lost *Life of More*<sup>7</sup>; while Stapleton's *Life* has been published for the first time in England in a translation by Mgr. P. E. Hallett<sup>8</sup>. The 'Saga' is thus now available. There is, of course, no lack of modern biographies, among which the standard Victorian biography<sup>9</sup>, the first to be based not only on the early Lives but also on the official records preserved among the State Papers, is still one of the best. Among other Catholic Lives may be mentioned those by Henry Brémond<sup>10</sup>,

<sup>2</sup> "Sir Thomas More", in *The Social and Political Ideas of Some Great Thinkers of the Renaissance and the Reformation*, ed. Prof. F. J. C. Hearnshaw (Harrap, 1925).

<sup>3</sup> *The Saga and the Myth of Sir Thomas More*, Literary History Lecture, 5 Nov. 1926.

<sup>4</sup> "Sir Thomas More's Fame among his Countrymen", Introductory Essay in *The Fame of Blessed Thomas More* (Sheed & Ward, 1929).

<sup>5</sup> Ed. S. W. Singer, second improved edition 1822.

<sup>6</sup> *The Life and Death of Sir Thomas More* by Nicholas Harpsfield, ed. E. V. Hitchcock, with an Introduction by R. W. Chambers, E. E. T. S. No. 186 (Oxford, 1932) — see *English Studies* XV, pp. 28-31.

<sup>7</sup> Previously ed. by Fr. van Ortoy, *Vie du bienheureux martyr Jean Fisher*, in *Analecta Bollandiana* X and XII, 1891/3 (issued separately Bruxelles 1893, pp. 396-418).

<sup>8</sup> *The Life and Illustrious Martyrdom of Sir Thomas More* by Thomas Stapleton, trans. P. E. Hallett (Burns, Oates & Washbourne, 1928).

<sup>9</sup> *The Life and Writings of Sir Thomas More*, by the Rev. T. E. Bridgett, C. SS. R. (Burns & Oates, 1891).

<sup>10</sup> Trans. Harold Child (London, 1904).

Daniel Sargent<sup>11</sup>, Christopher Hollis<sup>11</sup>, and Joseph Clayton<sup>12</sup>; by non-Catholics those of the Rev. W. H. Hutton<sup>13</sup>, G. R. Potter<sup>14</sup>, and Miss E. M. G. Routh<sup>15</sup>, this last utilising the results of all the latest work on More; while a full Life by Prof. Chambers has been announced for publication<sup>16</sup> at Easter.

As for More's own writings — apart from their literary interest hardly less important than the early Lives for the illustration of More's consistency — the collected edition of 1557 had by the nineteenth century become scarce and its black letter difficult and tiring to the eyes of readers accustomed now to comfortable modern reprints. Yet almost alone among his contemporaries More has remained unreprinted, with the result that he has at last dropped out of English literature altogether, for in what are still our standard literary histories to-day he is ignored as a writer of English. The *Cambridge History of English Literature*, for example, says: "His fame rests chiefly on his Latin epigrams and *Utopia*; but his other work requires to be mentioned"<sup>17</sup>, and contents itself with a mere list of titles; Saintsbury has it that "his place in the strict History of English literature is very small, and not extraordinarily high"<sup>18</sup>; while in anthologies of English prose he is usually represented by someone else's translation of *Utopia*. Yet More's English writings fill nearly 1500 double-column folio pages. They fall into three main groups: the earlier works; the controversial treatises, forming the greater part of his writing (over a thousand pages); and the books written in the Tower, including his last letters. Of the shorter, non-controversial pieces there were some late nineteenth-century editions, of the *Life of Picus* by J. M. Rigg<sup>19</sup> and of the *History of Richard III* by J. R. Lumby<sup>20</sup>; while of Bridgett's anthology, *The Wit and Wisdom of Sir Thomas More*, and *The Four Last Things*, edited by D. O'Connor<sup>21</sup> (long out of print but recently reissued) the circulation was practically restricted to Catholic circles. It may be mentioned that the best edition of *Utopia* is still that of J. H. Lupton<sup>22</sup>. In 1924 Prof. P. S. and Mrs. Allen published an admirable little book of Selections drawn from the whole range of More's English writings<sup>23</sup>, and editions of complete texts have followed, so that already all More's most important books are once more easily accessible. A complete edition of More's English Works, in the form of a facsimile of the 1557 edition accompanied by a modernised version

<sup>11</sup> Both published by Sheed & Ward, 1934.

<sup>12</sup> Burns, Oates & Washbourne, 1933.

<sup>13</sup> Methuen, 1895.

<sup>14</sup> Roadmaker Series, Parsons, 1925.

<sup>15</sup> *Sir Thomas More and his Friends* (Oxford, 1934).

<sup>16</sup> By Jonathan Cape.

<sup>17</sup> Vol. III, p. 16.

<sup>18</sup> *Short History of English Literature* (Macmillan, 1919), p. 212.

<sup>19</sup> Tudor Library (David Nutt, 1890).

<sup>20</sup> Pitt Press Series (Cambridge, 1883, still in print).

<sup>21</sup> Paternoster Books (Art & Book Co., 1903).

<sup>22</sup> *The Utopia of Sir Thomas More*, Latin text of 1518 and Ralph Robinson's trans. of 1551 (Oxford, 1895). A very convenient edition of Robinson's translation (1556 edition, with the Latin text of 1516 in an appendix) is that of G. Sampson and A. Guthkelch (Bohn's Standard Library, Bell, 1910), which contains also a critical edition of Roper's *Life* and More's Last Letters, and includes a useful bibliography.

<sup>23</sup> Clarendon Series (Oxford).

and full critical apparatus, is in course of publication<sup>24</sup>, under the editorship of Mr. W. E. Campbell and Prof. A. W. Reed, and two volumes have already appeared, Vol. I (1931) containing the Earlier Works (*Poems, Life of Pico, History of Richard III, and Four Last Things*), Vol. II (1927) containing the *Dialogue concerning Tyndale*. The *Apology* has been very ably edited by Prof. A. I. Taft<sup>25</sup>, while the fine *Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation* is available in a popular reprint in the Everyman Library<sup>26</sup>. A penetrating study of More's language and style has been made Prof. J. Delcourt<sup>27</sup>, while the best general accounts of More's writings are to be found in Bridgett's biography and in Prof. G. P. Krapp's *Rise of English Literary Prose*<sup>28</sup>. At last, though much still remains to be done, we are in a position to estimate More's contribution to English literature and to appreciate his literary and linguistic importance.

It has always been difficult to explain the sudden brilliance of Elizabethan prose and drama: they seemed to have sprung from nowhere, for they could not be traced back on the one hand to such known writers as Pecoek, Malory or Berners, each highly individual and of limited range, nor on the other hand, in certain important respects, directly to the mediæval miracles and moralities. But when More is restored to his place all becomes clear: he is seen not only to fill the gap himself in a remarkable manner as the centre of an important group of writers who are restored with him, but also to bridge it, enabling the lineage of English prose to be traced beyond him into the mediæval period. Coming at the opening of the modern period, a hundred years after Chaucer and some fifty before Shakespeare, he is an essential link between mediæval and modern. And in his English writings there is a richness and variety of matter and style that makes the 1557 volume a worthy precursor of all the glories of the seventeenth century. More and his circle, indeed, dominate the early sixteenth century. It has recently been emphasised, for example, how great was the influence of More, an influence hitherto entirely unsuspected, on the development of the drama. For Prof. Reed has shown<sup>29</sup> how in early Tudor times a new imaginative drama grew up in that very household in which as a youth, as Roper tells us, More was noted for his impromptu acting, beginning with Cardinal Morton's chaplain, Henry Medwall, and continued by the Rastells and the Heywoods, close friends of More; and, while none of the *Comœdiæ iuveniles* attributed to More by Pitseus are extant<sup>30</sup>, Prof. Reed sees his direct influence in certain of the

<sup>24</sup> By Eyre & Spottiswoode. The edition is to be completed in five further volumes, as follows: III. *The Supplication of Souls and Confutation of Tyndale*, Part I; IV. *The Second Part of the Confutation of Tyndale*; V. *The Letter to Frith, The Apology, and The Debellation of Salem and Bizance*; VI. *The Answer to the Poisoned Book and The Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation*; VII. *Treatise on the Blessed Sacrament, Treatise on the Passion, Devotions and Letters*.

<sup>25</sup> E. E. T. S. No. 180 (Oxford, 1930).

<sup>26</sup> Together with *Utopia* (Dent, 1910).

<sup>27</sup> *Essai sur la langue de Sir Thomas More, d'après ses œuvres anglaises* (Paris, Didier, 1914), containing also an edition of More's autograph letters, a very useful bibliography of MSS. and early editions, and an excellent biographical sketch.

<sup>28</sup> Oxford, 1915, esp. pp. 80-102.

<sup>29</sup> *The Beginnings of the English Secular and Romantic Drama*, read before the Shakespeare Association, 29 Feb. 1920 (Oxford, 1922); see also *Early Tudor Drama* (Methuen, 1926).

<sup>30</sup> Mentioned also by Erasmus: *Adolescens comœdiolas et scripsit et egit*, Letter to Ulrich Hutten, 23 July 1519.

plays of the young John Heywood, *discipulus suus familiarissimus*. And Prof. Chambers has pointed out how it is to More's own lively dialogues and 'merry tales' that we must look for the prototype of the prose dialogue of Shakespeare. Not that this is entirely More's invention, any more than it was Shakespeare's — individual originality must not be pressed too far: the important point is that, as has of late years been shown from legal records, especially the verbatim reports of witnesses, theirs was an exceptionally dramatic age, and More the lawyer, no less than Shakespeare, was in close touch with the natural drama of the life around him and had the genius to record it in permanent form. From the life of the people came the realistic prose dialogue of Shakespearean comedy and tragedy, and More anticipated it, as did also, to a smaller extent, as Dr. Owst has shown, many a mediæval preacher. Now it is More's further importance, beyond his own literary achievement, that he makes it for the first time abundantly clear that it is in this mediæval religious prose (and not in the prose of history, law or fiction, which, interrupted completely by the Norman Conquest, had to start all over again) that the tradition of native English prose continued unbroken — and it goes right back, in fact, to its fountain-head in the Anglo-Saxon prose of Ælfric, Alfred, and the *Chronicle*. And this native prose, continuing through the *Ancren Riwele* via the fourteenth-century mystics to More, is a thoroughly workmanlike vehicle of expression, simple and clear, and without any artificial literary adornments that would limit its usefulness: it is, in a word, the easy, natural prose that is represented later by Dryden and Bunyan, Swift and Addison and Steele. All which necessitates in our histories of literature an important new chapter, on the Age of More — a chapter that has already, indeed, been written most eloquently by Prof. Chambers<sup>31</sup>.

The great 1557 volume of More's Works opens, not with prose, but with four poems written by More "in his youth for his pastime" and by a happy thought included by Rastell at the last minute, after the rest of the book had been set up. The first, *A Merry Jest how a Sergeant would learn to play the Friar*, composed probably, as Prof. Reed suggests, for the Sergeants' Feast of November 1503 at which his father was elected one of the Sergeants-at-law — when, that is, he was twenty-five — introduces us at once to that lively sense of good-natured fun that characterised More all his life, from the time when, as a boy of thirteen or fourteen in Cardinal Morton's house, he would, as Roper says, "at Christmastide suddenly sometimes step in among the players and, never studying for the matter, make a part of his own there present amongst them, which made the lookers-on more sport than all the players 'beside', till on the scaffold he uttered his last jests; while, again characteristic of More, the simple 'moral' — that men should stick to their own business — is serious :

When a hatter  
Will go smatter  
In philosophy,  
Or a pedlar  
Wax a meddler  
In theology :

<sup>31</sup> *The Continuity of English Prose from Alfred to More and his School*, forming pp. xlv to clxxiv of the Introduction to Harpsfield's *Life of More* (E. E. T. S. No. 186, Oxford, 1932) and also issued separately — see *English Studies* XIV pp. 203-4 and XV pp. 28-31.

All that ensue  
 Such craftes new  
 They drive so far a cast  
 That evermore  
 They do therefor  
 Beshrew themselves at last.

The poem tells of the unsuccessful attempt of a law-officer (the Tudor policeman) to arrest a debtor by entering his house disguised as a friar. It begins with an introductory section in which is stated the 'moral' to be illustrated, and then follows a lively picture of the young spendthrift who, having run through his patrimony, has got into debt and to avoid arrest is reduced to lying low at a friend's house, shamming sickness. The action proper does not begin till nearly halfway through the poem, with plans for the debtor's arrest. An officer, called in by one of the creditors, promises to capture him and, in order to effect this, exchanges clothes with a friar and practises his part. Then the "fained friar" calls on the debtor and, convincing the servant who opens the door, is shown upstairs. Greetings are exchanged and then, as soon as the maid has retired, the officer throws off his disguise and proclaims his errand. The catastrophe is swift — and unexpected: for the debtor shows fight and lays about him lustily till both are struggling on the floor, when "the maid and wife", hearing the clamour, come up and join in, and together they throw the sergeant, "well nigh slain", headlong down the stairs, with a parting shot of "Commend us to the Mayor!" A brief epilogue, repeating the moral, ends with a welcome to the feast. Though only a light piece of fooling, mere knockabout comedy, this little poem shows already More's gift of vivid storytelling, his easy fluency, and his admirable sense of form.

Many have noted the striking contrasts in More's character, his hearty interest in the world side by side with a constant preoccupation with the spiritual, the rival attractions of learning and faith, law and philosophy, matrimony and the cloister all finely balanced in the man of the world who was also a saint. And this contrast we find in him from his earliest years — even at his merriest he is always serious. This essential seriousness of More's nature is fully brought out in the three remaining poems, the common theme of which is the vanity of earthly things. The first of these is a set of verses for a "goodly hanging of fine painted cloths" he had "in his youth devised in his father's house". There were nine "pageants" or scenes: Childhood, Manhood, Venus and Cupid (or Love), Age, Death, Fame, and Eternity, each in turn being overcome by its successor and the poet finally pointing the moral in twelve Latin elegiacs. Here is Childhood:

I am called Childhood, in play is all my mind,  
 To cast a quoit, a cock-steel or a ball;  
 A top can I set, and drive it in his kind —  
 But would to God these hateful bookes all  
 Were in a fire burnt to powder small!  
 Then might I lead my life always in play,  
 Which life God send me to my ending day

a vignette which may well be placed with the schoolboys of Shakespeare and Blake.

The third poem, perhaps More's best, is a moving Elegy on the death in 1503 of Elizabeth of York, Henry VII's Queen, of great historical interest for

its references to Henry's recent rebuilding of the palace at Richmond and to the newly begun Henry VII Chapel at Westminster — to which and to her husband, her children, and her people in turn the dead Queen is represented as saying farewell, each stanza ending with the touching refrain "For lo, now here I lie" —

O ye that put your trust and confidence  
In worldly joy and frail prosperity,  
That so live here as ye should never hence :  
Remember death and look here upon me.

The last poem consists of "certain metres" written to be prefixed to the *Book of Fortune*, an ingenious and amusing fortune-telling book so popular that no copy earlier than 1618 has survived the constant handling to which it was subjected. Here the best part is that in which More warns "them that trust in Fortune", especially the passage beginning with the fine stanza :

And first upon thee lovely shall she smile  
And friendly on thee cast her wandering eyes,  
Embrace thee in her arms and for a while  
Put thee and keep thee in a fool's paradise ;  
And forthwithal, whatso thou list devise <sup>32</sup>  
She will thee grant it liberally perhaps —  
But for all that beware of afterclaps.

The *Merry Jest* is in the energetic short-lined rhyming doggerel <sup>33</sup> of the sort that one associates most readily with the name of Skelton, but the others are all in More's favourite rhyme-royal stanza <sup>34</sup>. Now when we consider the parlous state of English metre in More's day, in the unsettled interval between Chaucer and the Elizabethans, and remember that even in the following generation, with Wyatt and Surrey, the metre is still often halting and uncertain, More's verse, though at times awkward and hesitating, frequently, as in the stanza just quoted, moves surprisingly surely and smoothly.

However, noteworthy both for their matter and metre as these poems are, they possess the further interest of forming part of the literary apprenticeship of a prose-writer. Verse is an excellent discipline, its regular rhythms serving as a good introduction to the more varied rhythms of prose. Thus it is from verse that More learns the rhythmical value of the word-pair and the balance given by what we may call the adjective-and-noun pair, both illustrated in the already-quoted opening lines of the *Elegy* :

O ye that put your *trust and confidence*  
In *worldly joy and frail prosperity*.

and of frequent occurrence throughout the poems; while verse also gave More practice in confining the expression of a complete thought symmetrically within the compass of a single line or couplet. Hence his tendency to concise,

<sup>32</sup> I.e., whatever you like to think of.

<sup>33</sup> A six-lined stanza rhyming *aabccb*, the couplets in two-beat, ll. 3 and 6 in three-beat lines.

<sup>34</sup> Or Chaucerian stanza, seven five-beat lines rhyming *ababbcc*. I wonder whether it is only an accident that in the latter part of the *Elegy*, in five stanzas out of a total of twelve, the last line is lengthened to six beats, thus more than faintly suggesting the slowing movement, particularly appropriate in a lament, of the Spenserian stanza.

epigrammatic expression and to the proverbial which we shall find to be a feature of his prose. So, for example, Fortune's

Without good hap there may no wit suffice :  
Better is to be fortunate than wise

and, in More's answer to her,

The head that late lay easily and full soft  
Instead of pillows lieth after on the block

and

None falleth far but he that climbeth high.

We meet already here, too, another feature that becomes more striking later in his prose, what Prof. Reed calls the "quality of quantity of content"<sup>35</sup>, seen in his fondness for agglomerations that indicate a richly stocked imagination, as, for example, in the opening stanza of Fortune's tempting words "to the people":

Mine high estate, power and authority  
If ye ne knew, ensearch and ye shall spy  
That riches, worship<sup>36</sup>, wealth and dignity,  
Joy, rest and peace, and all things finally  
That any pleasure or profit may come by  
To man's comfort, aid and sustenance,  
Is all at my device and ordinance

where we may note also, besides the word-pairs, the use of the triplet. Most striking, however, as illustrating this richness of More's mind is the stanza quoted by Prof. Reed in which are pictured the grim companions of Lady Fortune:

Fast by her side doth weary Labour stand,  
Pale Fear also, and Sorrow all bewept,  
Disdain and Hatred on that other hand,  
Eke restless Watch with sleep from travail kept,  
His eyes drowsy and looking as he slept;  
Before her standeth Danger and Envy,  
Flattery, Deceit, Mischief and Tyranny

a stanza which, as Bridgett says, "might have been written by Spenser or by Gray"<sup>37</sup>.

Erasmus tells us of More: "His first years were given to poetry. Then for a long while he exerted himself to acquire a flexible prose style, making experiments in every kind"<sup>38</sup>, and we may therefore regard his apprenticeship

<sup>35</sup> "If I were asked what was the most unmistakable mark of More's workmanship, I should say that it was the loading and piling up of matter in what one may call agglomerated passages... This quality of superabundance is something very much more than style. It is the inimitable quality of quantity of content, a quality that gives to only the great writers their unassailable pre-eminence", *English Works of More*, Vol. I, 1931, Philological Notes, pp. 192-3.

<sup>36</sup> I.e., honour.

<sup>37</sup> p. 15.

<sup>38</sup> *Primam ætatem carmine potissimum exercuit. Mox diu luctatus est, ut prosam orationem redderet molliorem, per omne scripti genus stilum exercens*, Letter to Ulrich Hutten, 23 July 1519.

in writing as being further continued in the next three items in the 1557 volume, even though the last of these is dated 1522, when More was forty-four, for he commenced author comparatively late, the great bulk of his writings belonging to the six crowded years of his fifties.

His first prose work is the *Life of John Picus, Earl of Mirandula*, the remarkable young Italian humanist whom, as a layman who put devotion before learning, More when a young man took for a pattern in life. The *Life* is translated closely, except for a few appropriate and well-managed omissions<sup>39</sup> and for two characteristic additions, from the Latin of Pico's nephew, and is followed by translations of three of Pico's letters and his 'Interpretation' of Psalm xv and by expanded verse-renderings of certain short prose apophthegms: the Twelve Rules of Spiritual Warfare, the Twelve Weapons of a Christian Soldier, and the Twelve Conditions of a Lover — the whole forming an attractive little book of semi-devotional reading which More dedicated to Joyce Leigh (or Lee), Minoress at Aldgate and a childhood friend.

The verses, which we may consider first, form the last third of the book, and are for the most part original poems by More on the themes suggested by Pico's aphorisms, More developing the subjects in his own way. There are some fine single lines :

To the most odious and vile death of a tree...  
To vile carrion and wretched worm's meat...  
But only faithful heart and loving mind

and, of life :

But fast it runneth on and passen shall  
As doth a dream or shadow on the wall<sup>40</sup>

while the proverbial sounds in :

For he that loveth peril shall perish therein.  
Perilous is the canker that catcheth the bone.  
Nothing impossible is that hath been done.

The Third Rule of Spiritual Warfare More versifies as follows :

Consider well that folly it is and vain  
To look for heaven with pleasure and delight :  
Since Christ, our Lord and sovereign captain  
Ascended never but by manly fight  
And bitter passion — then were it no right  
That any servant, ye will yourself record,  
Should stand in better condition than his lord.

Other striking stanzas are that on the peace of a good mind, with its eighteenth-century final couplet :

<sup>39</sup> Of which the most considerable is a long four-page account of Pico's writings: More is for the occasion more interested in Pico's holiness than his scholarship.

<sup>40</sup> Cp. also the definition of Time in the second poem (stanza on Eternity):

Thou mortal Time, every man can tell,  
Art nothing else but the mobility  
Of sun and moon changing in every degree.

Why lovest thou so this brittle world's joy?  
 Take all the mirth, take all the fantasies,  
 Take every game, take every wanton toy,  
 Take every sport that men can thee devise —  
 And among them all, on warrantise,  
*Thou shalt no pleasure comparable find*  
*To th'inward gladness of a virtuous mind.*

and, apart, for modern ears, from the last word of the first line, the moving :

When thou in flame of the temptation friest  
 Think on the very lamentable pain,  
 Think on the piteous cross of woeful Christ,  
 Think on His blood beat out at every vein,  
 Think on His precious heart carved in twain,  
 Think how for *thy* redemption all was wrought :  
 Let Him not lose thee that He so dear hath bought.

More translates Pico's Twelve Conditions of a Lover and then expands them in a poem throughout which, giving two stanzas to each 'property', he contrasts human with divine love. These are the opening lines :

The first point is to love but one alone  
 And for that one all others to forsake,  
*For whoso loveth many loveth none...*

again neat and epigrammatic; while the best stanza is perhaps the following :

Diversely passioned is the lover's heart :  
 Now pleasant hope, now dread and grievous fear,  
 Now perfect bliss, now bitter sorrow smart ;  
 And whether his love be with him or elsewhere  
 Oft from his eyes there falleth many a tear —  
 For very joy, when they together be ;  
 When they be sundered, for adversity.

The book closes with a twelve-stanza Prayer of Pico's that once again is more More's than his model's. It is a fine poem, eloquent and dignified, expressing well More's own sincere piety :

O holy God of dreadful majesty,  
 Verily one in three and three in one,  
 Whom angels serve, Whose work all creatures be,  
 Which heaven and earth directest all alone:  
 We Thee beseech, good Lord, with woeful moan,  
 Spare us wretches and wash away our guilt  
 That we be not by Thy just anger spilt.

In strait balance of rigorous judgment  
 If Thou shouldst our sin ponder and weigh,  
 Who able were to bear Thy punishment?  
 The whole engine of all this world, I say,  
 The engine that endure shall for ay,  
 With such examination might not stand  
*Space of a moment in Thine angry hand.*

However, though his poems, as these quotations show, are by no means lacking in power and inspiration, More realised that his true medium was prose. and he wrote no more verse till, his work finished and his troubles nearly over.

he composed two short 'ballads', as Rastell says, "for his pastime while he was prisoner in the Tower".

To return to the *Life*, when he set out 'to acquire a flexible style', More wisely began with translation, and this earliest prose of his has all the technical interest of a conscious stylistic exercise. Here we can see how his own naturally simple and straightforward English gains from the balance and antithesis of the Latin an added dignity and grace, though it is nowhere over-Latinised. Mostly he translates literally, and the fine balance, for example, of "a deadly wound to the soul and a mortal poison to charity" results directly from *letale vulnus animæ venenumque charitatis mortiferum*. The word-pair<sup>41</sup> occurs already in the Latin, and More adopts it readily, rendering *odisse... et detestari* by "hated and abhorred", *officia et dignitates* by "offices and dignities"; though he does not hesitate, when the rhythm gains by it, to render single Latin words by English word-pairs, translating *petitas* by "picked and sought out", *contueri* by "behold and consider", *dogmata* by "lessons and instruction", *aculeos* by "twitches and pangs", and *dominandi curis* by "the charge and business of rule or lordship", while, with the addition of adjectives, *benignitas et gratia* becomes "the great benignity and singular courtesy", *viribus aut fortunis* "strength of body or goods of fortune", and *immensa dei bonitate* "the especial provision and singular goodness of almighty God"; though, *vice versa*, he is also for the same reason ready at times to suppress one of two Latin words, rendering *turmatim ac coacervatim* simply "by heaps", *voluptate et illecebris* by "pleasure", *eliminandis explodendisque* by "extermination".

The translation is marked especially by one of More's most striking gifts, that of felicitous phrasing: he always has the right word, just as difficult to find in translation as in original writing. Thus many of the most vivid and picturesque phrases are translated direct from the Latin: "in the chief city of the world" representing *in prima orbis urbe*, "the crooked hills of delicious pleasure" *devios mollitudinis voluptariæ anfractus*, "converted to the way of justice from the crooked and ragged path of voluptuous living" *converso ad justitiæ semitas ex distorto et obliquo libidinum calle*, and "somewhat besprent with the freckle of negligence" *incuriositatis nævo macularetur*; though the effect is often secured by judicious and usually slight changes and additions: small alterations are "in rest and peace" for *in alta pace* and "travail and watch" for *vigiliæ reconditæ*, while somewhat more considerable changes are "the voluptuous broad way that leadeth to hell" for *mollem illam et spatiosam multorum viam*, and the finely balanced "more meet for secret communication of learned men than for open hearing of common people" for *non passim vulganda triviis sed secreto congressu inter doctos et paucos disputanda*.

More is also fond of alliteration, which occurs frequently in his verse, and which in the prose of the *Picus* he manages to achieve in both its simple and cross forms with a minimum departure from strict literal translation. Thus *ad captandam vulgi auram atque imperitorum applausum* he neatly renders by "to win the favour of the common people and the commendation of fools"

<sup>41</sup> The history of the word-pair has not yet been worked out, but it has been noted as of wide occurrence in most of the older literatures (e.g., Latin, Old French, Old Icelandic) and seems, in translation (e.g., in the Old English Bede and the English Prayer Book) as well as in original writing, to be due often, not so much to a desire for emphasis or for clarity, as to a feeling for sentence rhythm. The fact that the words of a pair are not always synonyms is a further indication of the rhetorical nature of the device.

(f c c f), while with a trifling addition *captiunculas cavillaque sophistarum* becomes "captious subtleties and cavillations of sophistry" (c s c s). A more complex example of cross or chain alliteration occurs in the translation of Pico's Interpretation of Psalm xv: "many voluptuous pleasures, many vain desires, many diverse passions" (v p, v d, d p), from which it may be seen how More uses alliteration, not only for emphasis, but also as a link, to carry a sentence forward and at the same time hold its parts together.

It is in the *Picus* that we find More's first original prose — in the Dedication; in a notable and characteristic passage on honour and ancestry which he works in at the beginning of the *Life* <sup>42</sup>, and in one or two other small additions, including three short paragraphs introductory to the Letters. From the Dedication, which is in the same careful and balanced style as the rest of the translation, may be illustrated most of the rhythmical elements of this formal, studied prose :

It is, and of long time hath been, my well-beloved sister, a custom in the beginning of the New Year, friends to send between presents or gifts, as the witnesses of their love and friendship, and also signifying that they desire to each other that year a good continuance and prosperous end of that lucky beginning. But commonly all those presents that are used customably all in this manner between friends to be sent, be such things as pertain only unto the body, either to be fed or to be clad or some other wise delighted — by which it seemeth that their friendship is but fleshly and stretcheth in manner to the body only. But forasmuch as the love and amity of Christian folk should be rather ghostly friendship than bodily, since that all faithful people are rather spiritual than carnal (for as the apostle saith: "We be not now in flesh, but in spirit, if Christ abide in us"), I therefore, mine heartily beloved sister, in good luck of this New Year have sent you such a present as may bear witness of my tender love and zeal to the happy continuance and gracious increase of virtue in your soul; and whereas the gifts of other folk declare that they wish their friends to be worldly fortunate, mine testifieth that I desire to have you godly prosperous. These works, more profitable than large, were made in Latin by one John Picus, Earl of Mirandula, a lordship in Italy, of whose cunning <sup>43</sup> and virtue we need here nothing to speak, forasmuch as hereafter we peruse the course of his whole life, rather after our little power slenderly than after his merits sufficiently. The works are such that truly, good sister, I suppose of the quantity there cometh none in your hand more profitable, neither to the achieving of temperance in prosperity, nor to the purchasing of patience in adversity, nor to the despising of worldly vanity, nor to the desiring of heavenly felicity — which works I would require you gladly to receive, ne were it <sup>44</sup> that they be such that for the

<sup>42</sup> This addition (beginning with the second sentence here quoted) runs as follows :

"But we shall let his [Pico's] ancestors pass, to whom (though they were right excellent) he gave again as much honour as he received, and we shall speak of himself, rehearsing in part his learning and his virtue. For these be the things which we may account for our own, of which every man is more properly to be commended than of the nobleness of his ancestors, whose honour maketh us not honourable. For either they were themselves virtuous, or not; if not, then had they none honour themselves, had they never so great possessions: for honour is the reward of virtue. And how may they claim the reward that properly belongeth to virtue, if they lack the virtue that the reward belongeth to? Then, if themselves had none honour, how might they leave to their heirs that thing which they had not themselves? On the other side, if they be virtuous and so, consequently, honourable, yet may they not leave their honour to us as inheritants, no more than the virtue that themselves were honourable for. For never the more noble be we for their nobleness, if ourselves lack those things for which they were noble; but rather, the more worshipful that our ancestors were, the more vile and shameful be we if we decline from the steps of their worshipful living, the clear beauty of whose virtue maketh the dark spot of our vice the more evidently to appear and to be the more marked".

<sup>43</sup> I.e., learning.

<sup>44</sup> I.e., were it only.

goodly matter (howsoever they be translated) may delight and please any person that hath any mean <sup>45</sup> desire and love to God, and that yourself is such one as for your virtue and fervent zeal to God cannot but joyously receive anything that meanly <sup>45</sup> soundeth either to the reproach of vice, commendation of virtue, or honour and laud of God — Who preserve you.

Here occur the word-pair, whether of synonyms or of words similar in meaning ("presents or gifts", "love and friendship", "love and amity", "love and zeal", "delight and please", "desire and love", "honour and laud"); larger rhythmical units such as the adjective-and-noun pair ("good continuance and prosperous end", "happy continuance and gracious increase") and the triplet phrase ("either to the reproach of vice, commendation of virtue, or honour and laud of God") while balance and antithesis combine in "whereas the gifts of other folk declare that they wish their friends to be *worldly fortunate*, mine testifieth that I desire to have you *godly prosperous*" and "rather after our little power slenderly than after his merits sufficiently"; and finally, balance on an extended scale is attained in "neither to the achieving of temperance in prosperity nor to the purchasing of patience in adversity, nor to the despising of worldly vanity nor to the desiring of heavenly felicity", which consists of two differently built pairs of three-beat phrases, each pair being further linked by unobtrusive alliteration and all four phrases ending with a word in *-ity* at a sufficient distance from the others to avoid an unpleasant jingle.

More's second prose book is the *History of King Richard the Third*, the only one of his English writings that has long been accessible and thus the best known, and yet by an irony of fate — on a late and trifling doubt and against the strongest contemporary evidence, as has lately been conclusively shown by Prof. Chambers <sup>46</sup> — nowadays generally denied him. Justly celebrated from Ascham down to modern times, it is the first great piece of modern English historical writing. After More's execution it found its way, at first anonymously, into the current histories, where, even in a garbled version <sup>47</sup> standing out vivid and dramatic among the dull, mechanical compilations in which it was embedded, it arrested, it will be remembered, the attention of Shakespeare. Saintsbury, however, will have it that the *Richard III*, whether it be More's or not, has been "much overpraised" <sup>48</sup>, but when

<sup>45</sup> I.e., moderate(ly).

<sup>46</sup> "More's 'History of Richard III'", *Modern Language Review* XXIII, Oct. 1928, pp. 405-23, reprinted as "The Authorship of the 'History of Richard III'" in *The English Works of Sir Thomas More*, Vol. I, 1931, pp. 24-41.

<sup>47</sup> Still to be found, strangely enough, instead of More's own text, in a modern reprint, edited (with *Utopia*) by Maurice Adams, Camelot Series (Walter Scott, [1890]).

<sup>48</sup> Saintsbury continues: "The eulogies of critics like Hallam were probably determined by the fact that it is an early and not unhappy example of the rather colourless "classical" prose, of which a little later we shall find the chief exponents to be Ascham and his friends at Cambridge. It is, of course, a good deal better than Capgrave, and it is free from Pecock's harshness and crudity of phrase. But as it cannot on the one hand compare for richness, colour, and representative effect with the style of Berners, one of the two best writers of prose nearly contemporary with More, so it is not to be mentioned with that of Fisher, the other, for nice rhetorical artifice and intelligent employment of craftsman-like methods of work. But it is much more "eighteenth century" than either, and this commended it to Hallam" (*Short History of English Literature*, 1919, p. 212). Now Saintsbury was a great critic who did yeoman service, especially in directing attention to undeservedly neglected writers, and this estimate is quoted only because it is a good instance of a dangerous tendency of his to exalt the lesser known at the expense of those of established fame, interest in what is little known being aroused by the neat but rather unscrupulous method of bringing it into favourable

one remembers that the tradition of English historical prose was completely interrupted by the Norman Conquest, being replaced by Latin, and when it started again in the fifteenth century did so with an inferiority-complex about the poverty of the English language, *Richard III*, compared with the contemporary chronicles, mere collections of facts stilted and pretentious in style, remains an achievement sufficiently notable to arouse wonder. It is "a deliberately designed and carefully finished whole"<sup>49</sup>, and in its interpretation of events in the light of human character, its method is essentially modern.

It opens with the death of Edward IV, and a fine character sketch of that king gives the clue to the political situation at the end of his reign. Then, says More, speaking of Richard, then Duke of York: "But forasmuch as this Duke's demeanour ministreth in effect all the whole matter whereof this book shall entreat, it is therefore convenient somewhat to show you ere we farther go, what manner of man this was that could find in his heart so much mischief to conceive", and there follows a masterly, though partisan, portrait of the man on whom the whole action hinges. For More's tale is the story of the plotting and treachery that led up to Richard's crowning and the murder of the little Princes, and, though unfinished, the catastrophe is powerfully sketched. After the introductory character sketches More relates how Richard, taking advantage of the "long-continued grudge and heartburning between the Queen's kindred and the King's blood" whom in a moving deathbed speech Edward IV made a last vain attempt to reconcile, under cover of this animosity makes his first two moves in the five-act drama. The young Prince being on his father's death in Wales, with the Earls Rivers and Grey, relations of the Queen, Richard with every show of loyalty persuades the Queen to have him brought to London immediately "with a sober<sup>50</sup> company", and his first act is to meet the Prince on the way and, arresting Rivers and Grey (which suits the King's party well enough), thus to obtain custody of the young heir to the throne. Whereupon the Queen, in great dismay, takes sanctuary at Westminster with her younger son. With the further support of the King's party, especially of Lord Hastings and the Duke of Buckingham, Richard, as the children's uncle, is made Protector, and, realising that until he has both the Princes in his power he cannot prosecute his own plans, he next, with the same show of loyalty, persuades the Council "that it was a heinous deed of the Queen, and proceeding of great malice towards the King's Counsellors, that she should keep in sanctuary the King's brother from him, whose special pleasure and comfort it were to have his brother with him — and that by her done to none other intent than to bring all the lords in obloquy and murmur of the people", adding that if the Queen resists there can be no objection to taking the Prince away, as he stands in no need of sanctuary (the privileges of which anyhow, says Buckingham, are much abused). An embassy, led

---

comparison with the better-known. So here the well-known *Richard III* is used as a sort of stepping-stone for Berners and Fisher. It is the emphasis that is chiefly at fault, for while it might well be claimed that in certain respects (mainly rhetorical) Berners and Fisher have the advantage of More, on the whole neither of them has anything like More's range (even in the *Richard III*) of matter and style. And as for Saintsbury's curiously disparaging application to *Richard III* of the term "eighteenth century", if we remember what, just in prose, were the achievements of this century, we shall regard it as in reality a compliment — and a comparison that, and still more in More's later prose, gets very near the mark.

<sup>49</sup> *Cambridge History of English Literature*, Vol. III, p. 335.

<sup>50</sup> I.e., moderate, small.

by the Archbishop of Canterbury, is sent to the Queen, who, though she understands the Protector's designs well enough, realises that she cannot prevent him from taking her son and so surrenders him to the care of the Archbishop. Successful so far, Richard has now to proceed warily. He takes Buckingham into his confidence and gets his full support, and then, fearing Hastings' loyalty, picks a sudden quarrel with him and has him summarily executed on Tower Green. To justify his action he issues a Proclamation charging Hastings with treason, which does not succeed, however, in completely allaying suspicion. More then passes on to the Protector's treatment of Jane Shore, Edward IV's mistress, of whom he gives a very sympathetic account, which leads easily to a discussion of King Edward's marriage. For Richard's next step is to arrange for a sermon to be preached at Paul's Cross alleging the illegitimacy of the Princes and proclaiming himself the true heir to the throne. This being unfavourably received, for suspicion is now rife, the arguments are repeated by Buckingham to a 'packed' meeting at the Guildhall, and on the following day a deputation offers the crown to Richard, who has to be 'persuaded' to accept it. He is crowned, and his coronation opens the final act: as More says, "Now fell there mischiefs thick". For there follows the murder of the Princes in the Tower, after which Richard "never had quiet in his mind" but went about haunted and suspicious, till two years later he fell at Bosworth against Henry Richmond. More relates how he quarrelled with Buckingham, whom Cardinal Morton urged to rise against the tyrant, and in the middle of a conversation between the two his account breaks off.

More's is a dramatic story, full of colour and movement, in which what is most remarkable is the variety of treatment. Besides the character sketches (of Edward IV, Richard, Hastings, Morton, etc., and the unforgettable portrait of the unfortunate Jane Shore), there is the main narrative, a series of vivid pictures (Richard's treachery at Stony Stratford and the Queen's midnight flight into sanctuary; the great scene of Richard's quarrel with Hastings and the latter's execution; Edward IV's marriage; and the murder of the Princes), diversified by eloquent set speeches (that of Edward IV on his deathbed; Buckingham's discourse on sanctuaries and the Queen's reply to the Protector's embassy — both good pieces of argument; Shaw's sermon and Buckingham's Guildhall oration) and brisk dialogue (the Richard-Hastings quarrel, Buckingham and Morton), this especially in the many little incidental details — anecdotes and illustrations — that give weight and reality to a narrative and whose dramatic value Shakespeare fully appreciated (Pottyer's midnight visitor on the death of Edward IV; the story of the Bishop of Ely's strawberries; Lord Stanley's dream; Hastings' meetings with the priest and the pursuivant; the schoolmaster's comment on the Proclamation; the Recorder of London; Richard's page; etc.); while through it all, in touches of humour and irony<sup>51</sup>, and especially in its moralising tone (as particularly, for example, in the account of Hastings' premonitions and in the comments

---

<sup>51</sup> So, e.g., on his putting Jane Shore to public penance, Richard is described as acting "as a goodly continent prince, clean and faultless of himself, sent out of heaven into this vicious world for the amendment of men's manners"; and later, on Buckingham urging him to accept the crown: "These words much moved the Protector, which else, as every man may wit, would never of likelihood have inclined thereunto"; etc. Neither of these examples occurs in the printed Latin text (see following paragraph), though the former does appear in MS. Arundel 43.

on the misfortunes of Jane Shore), sounds More's own voice, for he makes this indeed, as Prof. Chambers has said, almost a sermon against ambition.

More began, in the *Picus*, with translation from Latin, and it is interesting to watch his progression here, for of the *Richard III* he wrote both an English and a Latin version. The Latin text, from which Rastell translated three short passages to fill gaps in the MS. of the English, was published at Louvain in 1565, the year of Rastell's death, in an edition of More's Latin Works probably prepared by him for the press<sup>52</sup>. The Latin version is shorter than the English, ending with Richard's coronation. It is difficult to say which was written first, though the internal evidence would seem to indicate that More was working on both versions simultaneously, writing here a passage first in Latin, here one first in English. Each version, in fact, in spite of their closeness, reads like an original, and there is an interesting series of small differences. To quote what I have written elsewhere: "It is easy to see why More should make some changes. He was writing the English for his own countrymen, but the Latin would be addressed to the wider public of the Continent, among whom he had many friends. This in itself is sufficient to account for a certain difference in method. The English is more detailed and particular, while the Latin, shorn of some of the accidents of time and place, is more general. For example, in the English dates and local names are given, and other details, as of costume, besides illustrations and anecdotes. In the Latin these are omitted — for the names of outlying villages unknown to the foreigner is substituted merely their distance from London<sup>53</sup>; and other instances of a like nature might be cited. On the other hand, also for the benefit of strangers, the Latin has explanatory comments on English institutions<sup>54</sup>, besides other small additions<sup>55</sup> and expansions — in all more or less equalling in bulk the passages contained only in the English. Again, as would be expected, there is practically no direct speech in the Latin, passages in which it occurs in the English usually being omitted entirely. It would be dangerous to attempt to assign a reason for every variation, but many would be quite sufficiently accounted for by the writer occasionally letting his pen run on in one of the versions according as a particular topic was easier to develop in that tongue"<sup>56</sup>. The *Richard III*, in its two versions, represents a unique and attractive experiment.

<sup>52</sup> There is also an interesting MS. of the Latin (Arundel 43, at the College of Heralds) which, containing a number of passages not in the printed Latin text, is intermediate between this and the English and, though not in More's autograph, may represent an early draft of the Latin version.

<sup>53</sup> So, e.g., "at Hornsey" is represented by *quatuor ab urbe milibus*, "at his palace of Westminster" by *in palatio... quod est apud Benedictorum cœnobium, ad occidentem solem circiter mille passus Londino distans*.

<sup>54</sup> So to "by authority of Parliament" is added *cuius apud Anglos summa atque absoluta potestas est*; of the Prince (who is described as *Rege designato*) being in Wales it is explained *nam ea deinceps primogenitis regum, vivis adhuc parentibus, propria ditio est*; of the title of "Chamberlain" is added *quod est apud Anglos perquam honorificum*; to the mention of Jane Shore's "going before the cross in procession upon a Sunday with a taper in her hand" is added *qui mos est illic agentium publicam pœnitentiam*; and of the London Recorder is added *qui præfecti assessor est eruditus patriis legibus, ne quid in reddendis iudiciis imperitia peccetur*.

<sup>55</sup> Including the important biographical passage, referring to the conversation between Mistlebrook and Pottyer: *quem ego sermonem ab eo memini, qui colloquentes audiverat, iam tum patri meo renuntiatum, cum adhuc nulla proditiōis eius suspicio haberetur*.

<sup>56</sup> "The Textual Problems of the 'History of Richard III'", *English Works of More*, Vol. I, 1931, pp. 42-53, in which further details are given and the textual history of *Richard III* also discussed. See also Oscar Hübschmann, *Textkritische Untersuchungen zu More's*

The careful, balanced style of the *Picus* is in the more ambitious *Richard III*, as befits its high theme, expanded into a stately historical style rising at times to the grand manner and varied by More's simple, direct *English* style, often admirably compact and concise<sup>57</sup>. More makes here full use of all the devices to which attention has already been called in the *Verses* and the *Picus*. So the word-pair, often alliterative, in all its variations<sup>58</sup>, and the less frequent triplet<sup>59</sup>, are employed to secure balance in long sounding sentences and massive paragraphs, and there is much alliteration, both simple and cross, used with excellent effect for emphasis and to link clause with clause<sup>60</sup>. The epigrammatic and proverbial abound<sup>61</sup>, and there are some similes<sup>62</sup> and

---

"Geschichte *Richard's III*" (Halle, 1910, and reprinted in *Anglia* XXXIII-IV, 1910-11) and A. F. Pollard, "The Making of Sir Thomas More's *Richard III*", in *Historical Essays in honour of James Tait*, ed. J. G. Edwards, etc. (Manchester, 1933), pp. 223-38.

<sup>57</sup> Prof. Reed has remarked that the style of the English version is balanced and formal up to the point at which the Latin breaks off and that after this it hurries on more direct and vigorous: I should prefer to say that throughout the *History* the Latinised style is reserved for the more formal parts — the character sketches, set speeches, and moralising — while in the narrative, rapid dialogue, and anecdotes the English is brisk and idiomatic. Thus the account of the Queen's flight into sanctuary is 'English', the conversation between Buckingham and Morton 'Latin'.

<sup>58</sup> E.g., "professed and observed" (*professa et... ducente*), "favour and affection" (*charitatem desideriumque*), "sharp and fierce" (*acer et ferox*); "friendly and... familiar" (*magnifico ac sumptuosos*), "robbers and reivers" (*improbis hominibus, latrociniiis*); "bold and hardy" (*promptus*), "stretch and extend" (*diffundere*), "division and dissension" (*divisio*); and note also "benignity" (*pietate beneficentiaque*), "heaviness" (*dolore lachrymisque*), "good" (*boni atque egregii*), etc.; "a marvellous fortress and sure armour" (*mirum firmamentum*), "piteously bewailed and sorrowfully repented" (*misere deploravit*).

<sup>59</sup> E.g., "cruelty, mischief and trouble", "forlaboured, forwearied and weakened" (*fatigata*), "fully, plain and directly"; and "evil company, sinister procuring and ungracious example", "many a meeting, much wooing and many great promises".

<sup>60</sup> E.g., "in which many princes, by a long-continued sovereignty, decline into a proud port from debonair behaviour of their beginning" (d p p d b b; *quum plerosque principes diu confirmata potentia vertat in superbiam*); "not letting to kiss whom he thought to kill" (*nec eorum abstinentes complexibus quos destinabat occidere*); "rather by pleasant advice to win themselves favour than by profitable advertisement to do the children good" (*placitura magis omnes quam profutura*); flattery shall have more place than plain and faithful advice" (f p p f — and note the vowels); "well to prosper in wealthful peace" (w p w p); "so great a change marvellously misliked" (*tam magnam... mutationem magnopere admirabatur*); "lest your causeless fear might cause you further to convey him" (c f f c); many folks' malice and more folks' folly" (m f m, m f f); "those that have not letted to put them in duress without colour will let as little to procure their destruction without cause" (d c d c, or, taking account of the 'undertones': l, p D C, l l, p D C); and finally, as a link: "these innocent tender children, born of most royal blood, brought up in great wealth, likely long to live to reign and rule in the realm, by traitorous tyranny taken, deprived of their estate, shortly shut up in prison, and privily slain and murdered" (b b, b, l l l r r r, t t t, , sh sh pr, pr ).

<sup>61</sup> E.g., "Whoso divineth upon conjectures may as well shoot too far as too short", "as women commonly, not of malice but of nature, hate them whom their husbands love", "as opportunity and likelihood of speed [= success] putteth a man in courage of that he never intended", "ever at length evil drifts drive to naught and good plain ways prosper", "Such a pestilent serpent is ambition and desire of vainglory and sovereignty", "None of us, I believe, is so unwise oversoon to trust a new friend made of an old foe", "sometimes without small things greater cannot stand", "evil words walk far", "the desire of a kingdom knoweth no kindred", "For what wise merchant adventureth all his goods in one ship?", "as friends fail fleers", "For men use, if they have an evil turn, to write it in marble; and whoso doth us a good turn, we write it in dust", "For small pleasure taketh a man of all that ever he hath beside, if he be wived against his appetite"; "common people... that wave with the wind", "experience, the very mother and mistress of wisdom"; etc.

<sup>62</sup> More is especially fond, as Prof. Reed has pointed out, of comparisons with precious stones and, as one would expect, "stage plays".

a single pun<sup>63</sup>. Here, in fact, are all the elements of Euphuism, though it is important to stress the fact that though when collected together the list of these literary devices is a formidable one, with More they never become mere mechanical artifices, repeated *ad nauseam*. He uses them, not, like Lyly later, for their own sake and to excess, but restrainedly, to vary and colour his prose, and so successfully, indeed, does he conceal the stylistic process that it is possible for a critic who has read More carefully to say: "But even in his more literary moments, he is not manneristic. All such tricks of style as alliteration, the use of doublets... he consistently avoids"<sup>64</sup> — which, though not literally exact, is certainly true in so far as More never lets them become mere tricks.

From *Richard III*, written about 1513, when More was Under-Sheriff of London, we pass to the *Four Last Things*, written in 1522, when More was forty-four. Six years previously, in 1516, on the eve of reluctantly entering the King's service, he had published, in a form half jest, half earnest (as was ever his wont), his protest against the new statesmanship and new economics of the day: the *Utopia*; and now, amid the splendours of the Court, to which, as Erasmus says, he had been dragged, he wrote, for himself and his family, a meditation on the text *Memorare novissima et in æternum non peccabis*.

"What would a man give", says More, "for a sure medicine that were of such strength that it should all his life keep him from sickness?" — yet here to hand, he says, is "a short medicine containing only four herbs, common and well known, that is to wit, Death, Doom, Pain and Joy, ... able to keep us all our life from sin" and preserve our soul to everlasting health. And if it be said that this 'medicine' is "bitter and painful to receive", that is not so, for, though even if it were so it would still be worth it, actually these four things are not so unpleasant as they might seem. We are asked, after all, he says, not to take them, but only to remember them, and yet have "the joy of heaven therewith to temper them withal". And to the objection that "the bare remembrance of death alone... were able to bereave a man of all the pleasure of his life" and that much more painful, then, must be "the deep imagination of the dreadful doom of God and bitter pains of purgatory or hell, of which every one passeth and exceedeth many deaths", he replies that these are but the arguments of those who have not tried it. For in the "operation and working" of this medicine the pleasure of life is not lost but marvellously increased, indeed — for there is a spiritual pleasure beside which all earthly delight is "but a false counterfeit image". But our appreciation of this is hindered by our infected taste: "our soul can have no place for the good corn of spiritual pleasure as long as it is overgrown with the barren weeds of carnal delectation. For the pulling out of which weeds by the root there is not a more meet instrument than the remembrance of the four last things". And in support of his claim that even in this present life there is in spiritual exercise "very sweetness, comfort, pleasure and gladness", he invokes the testimony of saints and martyrs to the joy to be found even in suffering and pain.

---

<sup>63</sup> This is the Queen's bitter retort to Richard's embassy: "Troweth the Protector (I pray God he may prove a protector), troweth he that I perceive not whereunto his painted process draweth?" — which reminds one of Shakespeare's use of the pun in serious contexts.

<sup>64</sup> G. P. Krapp, *Rise of English Literary Prose*, 1915, p. 100.

After this introduction More passes to the "remembrance of death" — its pains<sup>65</sup> and accompanying troubles<sup>66</sup> and temptations<sup>67</sup>; and then, noting that though while we are well we cannot easily be brought to a full realisation of the imminence of death (no stranger but a "nigh neighbour") — for "so is there none old man so old but that, as Tully<sup>68</sup> saith, he trusteth to live one year yet" — yet "commonly when we be sick then begin we to know ourselves" and therefore the quintessence of all philosophy is to be "such when we be whole as we think we will be when we be sick", he draws a picture of "all our whole life" as "a sickness never curable", for meat and drink are but medicines and sleep a swoon, "the very image of death". Then he proceeds to the contemplation of death as a help against the deadly sins, of which he treats five, Pride, Envy, Wrath, Covetousness and Gluttony, and just begins the sixth, Sloth, there breaking off, for he did not get beyond the first part of his subject, the meditation of death.

Although a mere sketch, unfinished and unrevised, the *Four Last Things* is the most intimate and powerful of More's writings. Death is a favourite subject with the preachers of all ages, but this little treatise stands apart as the work of a layman. Intent on bringing home to his fellow man-in-the-street that it is no mere academic question he is treating but a problem of the utmost urgency to each and every one of us, he relies not so much on argument to convince as on illustration, and his essay is a succession of vivid pictures, startling in their realism. He was never so grim as in this treatise, and his

---

<sup>65</sup> "thou seest (if thou fantasy thine own death, for so art thou by this counsel advised), thou seest I say, thyself, if thou die no worse death, yet at the least wise lying in thy bed, thy head shooting, thy back aching, thy veins beating, thine heart panting, thy throat rattling, thy flesh trembling, thy mouth gaping, thy nose sharpening, thy legs cooling, thy fingers fumbling, thy breath shortening, all thy strength fainting, thy life vanishing, and thy death drawing on".

<sup>66</sup> "Have ye not ere this, in a sore sickness, felt it very grievous to have folk babble to you, and namely [= especially] such things as ye should make answer to when it was a pain to speak? Think ye not now that it will be a gentle pleasure, when we lie dying, all our body in pain, all our mind in trouble, our soul in sorrow, our heart all in dread, while our life walketh awayward, while our death draweth toward, while the devil is busy about us, while we lack stomach and strength to bear any one of so manifold heinous troubles, will it not be, as I was about to say, a pleasant thing to see before thine eyes and hear at thine ear a rabble of fleshly friends, or rather of flesh flies, skipping about thy bed and thy sick body, like ravens about thy corpse, now almost carrion, crying to thee on every side, "What shall I have? What shall I have?" Then shall come thy children and cry for their parts; then shall come thy sweet wife, and where in thine health haply she spake thee not one sweet word in six weeks, now shall she call thee sweet husband and weep with much work and ask thee what shall she have; then shall thine executors ask for the keys, and ask what money is owing thee, ask what substance thou hast, and ask where thy money lieth. And while thou liest in that case, their words shall be so tedious that thou wilt wish all that they ask for upon a red fire, so that thou mightst lie one half-hour in rest".

<sup>67</sup> E.g., "And instead of sorrow for our sins and care of heaven, he [= the devil] putteth us in mind of provision for some honourable burying — so many torches, so many tapers, so many black gowns, so many merry mourners laughing under hoods, and a gay hearse, with the delight of goodly and honourable funerals: in which the foolish sick man is sometimes occupied as though he thought that he should stand in a window and see how worshipfully he shall be brought to church."

<sup>68</sup> I.e., Cicero.

descriptions of the deathbed scene and of "gorbellied gluttony" <sup>69</sup>, for example, are almost revolting in their detail. But he is not morbid, for there is throughout the leaven of his humour and a mordant irony reminiscent at times of Swift or Donne. No cloistered spirit, but a man of the world playing his own part in the great pageant of life, he draws examples from actual occurrences. Already in his early Verses he had sounded warnings of the treachery of Fortune, and in *Richard III* he had lingered, in the story of Hastings, on the irony of fate and "the vain surety of man's mind so near his death", and also on the pathos of the death of the little Princes; and here, in the sketch of "the fall of a great Duke" <sup>70</sup>, he refers with topical and impressive appropriateness to the execution in the previous year of the Duke of Buckingham, which had much affected him. Other illustrations, for his method is above all practical, are from everyday life, "homely examples" — that of the thief at Newgate "that cut a purse at the bar when he should be hanged on the morrow; and when he was asked why he did so, knowing that he should die so shortly, the desperate wretch said that it did his heart good to be lord of that purse one night yet"; and especially the extended comparison in which More likens the world to a prison and all men to prisoners condemned to death and "already in the cart, carrying forward".

In the *Four Last Things* More is in deep earnest, fully preoccupied with his subject, and his style is accordingly, as Prof. Reed says, "homely, direct, almost brutally frank". He gains his effect, not from the neatness and precision of balanced phrases, but from the sheer overpowering piling up of detail upon detail, in those "agglomerated passages" which, occurring occasionally in the *Richard III* — in the accounts of the Queen's flight into

---

<sup>69</sup> "If God would never punish gluttony, yet bringeth it punishment enough with itself: it disfigureth the face, discoloureth the skin, and disfigureth the body; it maketh the skin tawny, the body fat and fobby [= flabby], the face drowsy, the nose dripping, the mouth spitting, the eyes beared, the teeth rotten, the breath stinking, the hands trembling, the head hanging, and the feet tottering, and finally no part left in right course and frame." Note also the covetous man: "But look if ye see not some wretch that scant can creep for age, his head hanging in his bosom and his body crooked, walk pit-pat upon a pair of patens, with the staff in the one hand and the *paternoster* in the other hand, the one foot almost in the grave already, and yet never the more haste to part with anything nor to restore that he hath evil gotten, but as greedy to get a groat by the beguiling of his neighbour as if he had of certainty seven score years to live", in which, as Prof. Chambers has remarked, More has in the balanced sentences caught the rhythm of the old alliterative verse.

<sup>70</sup> "If it so were that thou knewest a great Duke, keeping so great estate and princely port in his house that thou, being a right mean [= poor] man, hadst in thine heart a great envy thereat, and specially at some special day in which he keepeth for the marriage of his child a great honourable court above other times; if thou being thereat, and at the sight of the royalty and honour shown him of all the country about resorting to him, while they kneel and crouch to him and at every word barehead begrace him, if thou shouldst suddenly be surely advertised that for secret treason lately detected to the King he should undoubtedly be taken the morrow, his court all broken up, his goods seized, his wife put out, his children disinherited, himself cast into prison, brought forth and arraigned, the matter out of question [= doubt], and he should be condemned, his coat-armour reversed, his gilt spurs hewn off his heels, himself hanged, drawn and quartered: how thinkest thou, by thy faith, amid thine envy shouldst thou not suddenly change into pity?"

sanctuary<sup>71</sup>, of the murder of the little Princes<sup>72</sup>, and of Richard's last years<sup>73</sup> — are here the rule<sup>74</sup>.

The *Four Last Things* marks the end of More's apprentice period and completes the group of what may be called his Earlier Works. Writing in an age which saw a rebirth of English prose and the first attempts at the cultivation of a literary style, we see More here consciously experimenting in the technique of writing. In the *Picus* and the *Richard III* we see the invaluable lessons he learnt from Latin for the shaping of his English style, and can appreciate his sanity of judgment and strength of will in refusing to be led astray by the attractions, fatal for so many a later writer, of the various literary figures and devices of which he showed here his easy mastery. For he realised that English is not Latin, and his feeling for the rhythms and sentence-forms of the vernacular reveals itself in the rapid, nervous English of the *Four Last Things*, which he was to develop into the easy, straightforward, idiomatic style that distinguishes his later books. Attention has been centred here chiefly on the technical aspects of his earlier pieces, though their interest even from this point of view has by no means been exhausted. Apart from style one may note already in these four items, comprising verse, biography, history and homily, More's wide range of subject. On another occasion it may be possible to discuss the great books of his prime.

Nijmegen.

W. A. G. DOYLE-DAVIDSON.

<sup>71</sup> "And thereupon by-and-by after the messenger departed, he [= the Archbishop of York] caused in all the haste all his servants to be called up, and so, with his own household about him and every man weaponed, he took the Great Seal with him and came yet before day unto the Queen — about whom he found much heaviness, rumble, haste and business, carriage and conveyance of her stuff into sanctuary, chests, coffers, packs, fardels, trusses, all on men's backs, no man unoccupied, some lading, some going, some discharging, some coming for more, some breaking down the walls to bring in the next [= nearest] way, and some yet drew to them that helped to carry a wrong way. The Queen herself sat alone alow on the rushes, all desolate and dismayed, whom the Archbishop comforted in the best manner he could, showing her that he trusted the matter was nothing so sore as she took it for."

<sup>72</sup> Quoted above, p. 66, note 60.

<sup>73</sup> "For I have heard by credible report of such as were secret with his chamberers, that after this abominable deed done he never had quiet in his mind, he never thought himself sure [= safe]. Where he went abroad his eyes whirled about, his body privily fenced, his hand ever on his dagger, his countenance and manner like one always ready to strike again; he took ill rest o' nights, lay long waking and musing, sore wearied with care and watch, rather slumbered than slept, troubled with fearful dreams, suddenly sometimes started up, leapt out of his bed and ran about the chamber, so was his restless heart continually tossed and tumbled with the tedious impression and stormy remembrance of his abominable deed."

<sup>74</sup> Only extended quotation, impossible in a short article, could do adequate justice to either the *Four Last Things* or the *Richard III*, but both these pieces are easily accessible in inexpensive reprints — shilling editions, of *Richard III* published by Gowans & Gray, of the *Four Last Things* by Burns, Oates & Washbourne.

## Reviews

*Die Einheitlichkeit des Ormmulum.* Studien zur Textkritik, zu den Quellen und zur sprachlichen Form von Orrmins Evangelienbuch. Von HEINRICH CHRISTOPH MATTHES. [Germanische Bibliothek begründet von Wilhelm Streitberg, II. Abteilung: Untersuchungen und Texte 36]. XVI + 277 pp. Heidelberg: Carl Winter. 1933. Mk. 19,50.

The importance of the Ormmulum as a source for the history of the English language has long been universally acknowledged. The importance of the text in this respect has drawn attention from the fact that the Ormmulum has a good deal of interest also in other ways. Even as a linguistic document it has not received all the attention it deserves. It has never been edited in a way that corresponds to its outstanding importance. Even the valuable information embodied in White's edition has not always received due notice. Dr. Sigurd Holm in his valuable dissertation *Corrections and Additions in the Ormmulum Manuscript*, Uppsala, 1922, drew attention to several important problems bound up with the text and did a good deal to place the Ormmulum in a truer light. The importance of the corrections and additions has really been first realised by Holm.

Dr. Matthes in his book generously acknowledges Dr. Holm's merits and his own indebtedness to him. His own contribution marks a still further stride forward as regards Ormmulum research. It deals with a great number of problems, on all of which new light is thrown. Some of the most important results will be summarized here.

A careful analysis of the MS. gives as a result that Orrmin only meant to deal with texts from the gospels. The list of Latin Gospel texts found after the Dedication is to be looked upon as a table of contents, which was not written until the whole collection of so-called homilies was finished. The list of Acta texts that follows the Gospel texts is in a different hand and may have been added by some owner of the MS, who did not realise the true nature of the list. The greater part of the Ormmulum is lost. Dr. Matthes calculates that the complete work was from 6 to 8 times larger than the part preserved. It seems to have been bound in several volumes, for a notice at the 50th Latin text runs thus: "huc usque I Volumen". The statement sometimes met with that the Ormmulum was never finished according to the original plan is thus not correct. The list embraces 230 Gospel texts, of which 32 are paraphrased in the extant fragment.

The Ormmulum is generally described as a collection of homilies, paraphrasing the pericopes of the massbook and arranged according to the ecclesiastical year. Dr. Matthes gives good reasons for the view, which was suggested already by Alois Brandl in the first edition of Paul's Grundriss, that it should be looked upon as a poetical Life of Christ. The mistake of scholars is partly due to Orrm's own statements. He calls the parts of the work "homilies" and says in the Dedication that his book deals with nearly all the pericopes found in the massbook. It is indeed possible that his original intention was to write a series of homilies, but that he found it better to write a complete Life. The Ormmulum may actually be looked upon as an attempt at a Gospel Harmony. Orrm attempted a careful chronology in the Gospel

story. Against the old view of the Ormulum being a collection of homilies tells the fact that sometimes two Latin texts are paraphrased in one "homily" or better "fitt". The extant 24 fitts deal with 32 Latin texts.

A full survey of the contents of the fragment is given pp. 33 ff. Here exact information is given as to what is preserved of each of the fitts and the extent of the gaps. It is seen that few of them are wholly complete. In this part it is also shown that the so-called Preface really belongs between ll. 156 and 157 of the Dedication, though in the MS it is placed in the list of the Latin Acta texts. There is a mark of reference from the beginning of the Preface to the said place in the Dedication.

One of the most important chapters is number 3, which deals with the problem of sources. It has been suggested that Orm in his explanations used such sources as Ælfric, Bede etc. Sarrazin came to the conclusion that the chief sources were Bede and Gregory's homilies. His results were criticised already by Holm, who draws attention to the curious references to *þe boc*, which sometimes means the Bible, sometimes other sources. Dr. Matthes advances the interesting and ingenious theory that Orm's chief source was a glossed bible, one provided with the *Glossa ordinaria* ascribed to Walafrid Strabo and perhaps also with the *Glossa interlinearis* ascribed to Anselm of Laon, which are often found combined, and a name-index. He has examined Bible texts of this nature, chiefly those in a Strasbourg print of 1481 and a Darmstadt MS. of c 1200. He is of opinion that we are justified in reckoning with a glossed Bible similar to these Continental ones as known to Orm. Evidently this hypothesis would gain strongly in probability if an early glossed bible of this type were found in England. Dr. Matthes has apparently not come across any. Here is an interesting problem for an English scholar to solve.

Dr. Matthes has chosen Orm's lines 2875-3177, dealing with Matthew l. 18-25, for an examination of the question as to whether Orm's text may be explained from a glossed Bible of the Strasbourg type. He prints Orm's text with the Bible text, the information found in the *Glossa ordinaria* and *interlinearis*, the passages from the Pseudo-Bede Matthew commentary, Bede's (genuine) homily on Matthew l. 18 ff., and Hrabanus's Matthew commentary. He comes to the conclusion that Orm's text shows hardly any reminiscences from the Commentaries or the Homily, but obvious parallels with the Glosses, some being of so striking a nature that there is a good deal of probability that Orm knew and made use of at least the *Glossa ordinaria*, perhaps also of the *Glossa interlinearis* and a name-index. It is to this glossed Bible Orm refers by the frequently occurring expressions *þe boc*, *boc*, *haliz boc* and the like, though sometimes *boc* has a more general import (as in *boc se33þ* 'it is written in a book'). Of other sources Orm certainly used Bede's genuine commentary on Luke and some of his homilies. The question of an influence from Ælfric is left open.

In connection with the problem of sources Dr. Matthes discusses the remarkable so-called B-corrections. In the original text (hand A) are a good many corrections in a hand called B. Some of these corrections are easily explained. Many are modifications of a linguistic nature, as when the suffix *-ness* is replaced by *-lez3k* or a dative form in *-e* by a monosyllabic form. These corrections have been carefully discussed by Holm, though Dr. Matthes has some important additions to make. But in a considerable number of cases a phrase containing *þe boc* or the like has been cancelled and

replaced by some general phrase such as *patt witt tu wel to sope*. The B corrector for some reason cancels references to *þe boc* and the like. In some of these cases the explanation may be that Orm or some other person had found that the reference was not quite correct, the statement in question not being found either in the Bible or the gloss, but in the majority of cases the reference in the original text can be explained from the Bible or a gloss or a name-index. The motives for these corrections are not clear. The references can hardly be due to the wish to avoid monotony, for some of the phrases that replace the cancelled ones are, if anything, more commonplace than the others.

Dr. Holm thinks there can be little doubt that B is identical with Orm's brother Walter, to whom the work is dedicated, at whose suggestion it was begun and whom Orm asks to revise it. Dr. Matthes does not look upon it as absolutely impossible that hands A and B are identical; at any rate they show much similarity. But on the whole he is inclined to believe that they are different. The B-corrections must have been made by the author himself or in accordance with his instructions. He finds it most probable that B is Orm's own hand and that hand A is that of a secretary, not Orm's own. Whether this is correct or not, the arguments in favour of this view are worthy of the utmost attention.

The foregoing notes will have given some idea of the contents of Dr. Matthes's book. It is characterized throughout by an independent outlook. Altogether it is a very valuable and suggestive piece of work.

Lund.

EILERT EKWALL.

*Der Bedeutungswandel von ME. Clerk und damit zusammenhängende Probleme.* Von KARL KREBS, Dr. Phil. Pp. 162. Bonn: Peter Hanstein. 1933. Pr. M. 6.80.

Words, like books, have their fates, and like books have their history; and their historians, while being unable to control their fate in the future, are not therefore satisfied to leave them to their history in the past. The task of the word-historian is a hard one. The material he has to work on is so slender, the gaps in the history of words so considerable, their sense development so erratic, that anything like certainty can only in the rarest of cases be attained. What strikes us most, when turning over the pages of an etymological dictionary, is the great number of words that have no plausible etymology; that, and the apparent lawlessness with which they change their meaning. It is interesting to compare the confident methods of the amateur etymologist in the correspondence columns of the popular weeklies with the conservative attitude of an expert like Mr. H. Sperber<sup>1</sup>: "A satisfactory, at all adequate treatment of semantic changes is a far more complicated process than the accepted practice of philologists leaves us to conjecture." Indeed, the more we try to reach certainty in matters of sense change the more we feel that the old caution of Aristotle in the *Ethics* to be content with

<sup>1</sup> Quoted on p. 6 of the Introduction.

approximate truth holds good of semantics no less than of ethical or political science. Mr. Krebs's attitude to the problem is set out in the introduction to *Der Bedeutungswandel von ME. Clerk und damit zusammenhängende Probleme*. By the chastened mood in which he addresses himself to his task the author will commend himself to the sceptics among semasiologists. "Under these conditions it is quite possible that important texts which might in any way have affected the results of our research, have passed unnoticed. These disadvantages will have to be accepted if not all semantic research is to become impossible." Quite so, but when the results of the research come up for final appraisal, these disadvantages will have to be borne in mind, the more so as they are not the only ones which beset the path of the semasiologist: there is further the necessary vagueness of a word depending for its meaning on a slender, often inadequate context and the possibility that the actual changes in meaning are only partially or imperfectly reflected by the existing documents. It will be no unfairness therefore to Mr. Krebs to say that he has been investigating the changes of meaning of the *me.* word *clerk* as reflected in part of the accessible records.

With characteristic German thoroughness the author takes us right back to early Greek times: even Homer is pressed into service to testify to an early occurrence of the word *κληρος*. We are told that the *κληρo-* etymeme defines a semantic area which has to do with lots, and the assigning and acquiring of things by lot, to which, as a natural accretion, eventually came the further meanings possession, inheritance. That the word *κληρος* was applied to Jahwe, and in Christian times, to God cannot, in view of certain expressions in the Old Testament, cause much wonder. The problem is how came the word to be applied to the body of men who devoted themselves to the service of God. St. Augustine's fanciful attempts at a solution are summarily dismissed. Greater credit is allowed to St. Jerome, but while admitting that the saint has indicated the right lines the author yet stops short of admitting that anything has been said as to the why and wherefore of the change. I think he might have been a little more confident in his conclusions. Once admitting that the interchange of the notions passive and active as between God and man are possible and justified — *möglich und durchaus gerechtfertigt* — there should be no difficulty in accepting situational contexts in which it suits the speaker's convenience to avail himself of that possibility. The relations indicated by the words passive and active can be expressed by context as well as by grammatical forms or syntactical constructions. Thus the German word *Grundbesitz* may refer to the holders of land, (active, *Der Sowjet im Kampfe gegen den Grundbesitz*), or to the land held (passive, *ein wertvoller Grundbesitz in Pommern*), or to the holding of land (*Grundbesitz ist ein verantwortungsvoller Besitz*, indicating the relation between the land and the holders). The same applies to the English phrase *landed interest*. Without context it is impossible to say which is meant; the three meanings belong to a common semantic area which refers in a vague way to the holding of land and all that it implies and for which the sounds of *Grundbesitz* are an accepted counter. If it be further urged why do we so use our words the last answer must be: linguistic economy, convenience and perhaps even necessity. I can see no greater difficulty in explaining the changes of *κληρος* than in accounting for the various meanings of *Grundbesitz*.

Mr. Krebs's treatise consists of a special and a general part, the latter containing the social and cultural backgrounds against which the changing

meaning of *clerk* will, it is perhaps too confidently supposed, stand out with greater clearness and greater accuracy of definition. The first part consists mainly of quotations from various documents, held together by the author's commentary, which here and there overflows the text to the extent of two or three pages and is variegated with remarks calculated to assist the reader in forming his conclusions; all very informative, interesting and, with one or two qualifications, eminently readable.

The four stages that mark the development of the me. word *clerk* are set out as follows:

- 1) *clerk* = *Angehöriger des geistlichen Standes*;
- 2) *clerk* = *Wissenschaftler*;
- 3) *clerk* = *Angestellter*;
- 4) *clerk* = *Teilhaber am benefit of clergy*.

These four stages are not watertight compartments, they flow like a river and their designations are necessarily vague. Those desirous of greater accuracy may turn to the author's commentary for sharper outline. Personally I can readily fall in with most of the author's views and conclusions. As regards the fourth stage, however, I have a small bone to pick with him. It may be that at a certain time every literate person was admitted to the benefit; the point at issue is, did this right of admittance affect the meaning of the word *clerk*. Was the prisoner called a clerk because he was able to read and write or because his literacy entitled him to pray his clergy? Surely a poor rascal who had barely saved his neck from the noose by repeating (with or without prompting) the first verse of the *Miserere* was not on that account called a clerk; or, if he was, strictly and only so with reference to the situational i.e. the law-court context. And whenever the Newgate ordinary, having satisfied himself of the prisoner's literacy, spoke the words "legit ut clericus", he simply referred to the man's having been taught his letters, not to his having been allowed the benefit of clergy. It should be noted that this peculiar exemption was far more closely associated with the word *clergy* than with *clerk*; so much so that in course of time the word *clergy* was dissociated from *clerk* and literacy altogether and came to mean exemption from whatever cause or for whatever reason. Thus a pregnant woman was held to be entitled to claim the clergy of her womb (cp. Butler, *Hudibras* III 1 884.). It may be, therefore, that the word *clergy* carried in a vague way the notion of exemption from the severity of the law, but the same can hardly be said of the word *clerk*. Of course the clerk shared in the benefit, but he shared in many other privileges, legal and social, but these no more entered the meaning of *clerk* than did the benefit of clergy.

In accounting for the existence of this legal phenomenon both Miss Gabel<sup>2</sup> and Mr. Krebs might have laid greater stress on the nature of the criminal laws of England. There can be no doubt that the exemption was used as a kind of equity-process to mitigate the barbarous severity of the English laws, always too careful of property and far too careless of human lives.

Mr. Krebs's book makes good reading and as a literary composition deserves more than ordinary praise. It is a pity he has not always seen his way to divesting himself of a certain highbrowism towards the Middle Ages. "... ist doch für das vorwissenschaftliche Denken ein mangelnder Sinn für

<sup>2</sup> L. C. Gabel, *The Benefit of Clergy in the later Middle-Ages*. Diss. Worthampton (Mass.) 1929. Referred to by Mr. Krebs, pp. 52, 59.

... kausale Zusammenhänge überhaupt charakteristisch". This is scientific snobbery. There has never been pre-scientific thought as there never will be post-scientific thought. Men of science are the same now as ever. There are good scholars, mediocre scholars, and bad scholars. Some are deep, sober, conservative thinkers, others are like children and savages in their irrational credulity combined with irrational scepticism and these need not fear any ages — Dark or other — half so much as their own shallowness and unbridled fantasy. In the piling up of knowledge, especially in the natural sciences, there has been great progress; in the psychology of the scientist there has been no appreciable change since the Reindeer Age. It is irritating to see these poor 'primitive people' taunted with defective reasoning and an undeveloped sense for the causal nexus from the simple fact of a sense transfer. So will Macaulay's New Zealander one day go on talking and prosing to a nephew about "the poor benighted twentieth century that insisted on calling certain fibres used in rope-making Manila hemp and sisal hemp, though of course every child knows that Manila fibre is supplied by a kind of banana and sisal by an agave. From the fact that hemp is used for ropes, they persuaded themselves that every rope is made of hemp!" The author is entitled to his own opinions on the Dark Ages, but if he wishes to impress them on his readers he will have to produce something more substantial than a few instances of a process which has been going on from time immemorial and which, far from being an example of irrational thinking, is a linguistic necessity.

One final grouch. Mr. Krebs has not been too well served by his printers or else, who has read the proofsheets? The following are bad for a German book: *Verhältnisse*, p. 45; *Standwerdung*, p. 87 (*Standwertung* ?); *Erziehungsmethode*, p. 116; *ausserodentlich*, p. 122; *Barone treten im Exchequer*, p. 146. *Jus canonice*, p. 76, is unusual Latinity; *imbutis*, p. 79, should rhyme with *tutus*, thus making the two lines intelligible; *verviens Regis*, p. 86, is not a convincing etymon of *sergeant*; *for asmuch af*, p. 71, should read *for as much as*; *desease*, p. 111, and *direvation*, p. 95, are particularly offensive to the eye. Cardinal Gasquet's name is twice spelt with C.

These however are minor blemishes, which do not detract from the value of the book. In spite of his indebtedness (generously acknowledged) to other scholars, the author has done a fine piece of original research work, interesting as much for results obtained as for method employed. To all who are interested in medieval England the volume can be warmly recommended.

Amsterdam.

C. VAN SPAENDONCK.

*The Broadcast Word*. By A. LLOYD JAMES. 209 pp. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. Ltd. 1935. 7s. 6d. net.

Although we know that Prof. Lloyd James is the Hon. Secretary of the B.B.C. Advisory Committee on Spoken English, and that it must, therefore, be a matter of considerable interest to him how English speech is being spread all over the country — and, to a lesser extent, all over the world — by means of the wireless, I cannot help thinking that the title of the book is not very

happily chosen. Either broadcast English is not what it should be — as so many of its critics, almost all laymen, assert — and then the thing to do is to correct the announcers' mistakes, not to write a book about it for the general reader; or it adequately represents the language of educated speakers, and then there seems no reason to claim for it the epithet 'broadcast'. It is not as if it represented a special variety of spoken English, like the English of the stage or of the pulpit. Apart from the fact that most people still prefer natural to tinned speech. However, the author's continual and evidently enthusiastic occupation with the process of broadcasting naturally enough disposes him to attach considerable significance to this department of Spoken English, and so the point need not be unduly stressed. Moreover, the book does not *mainly* deal with the problems involved in broadcasting, as the publishers would have us believe, but covers many subjects of far greater importance to the general reader who takes an intelligent interest in the way in which English is spoken to-day.

Among these I would mention in the first place the social aspect of spoken English, i.e. the difference between class variations, and next the relation between the spoken and the written word. Also the much-discussed question of Standard English, local variations, and the relation between language and nationalism. One is struck on almost every page by the freshness of the treatment, as also by the author's attitude of reverence towards the spoken, rather than to the printed word. I do not feel the same admiration for the policy adopted in this book of reducing the use of phonetic symbols to a minimum, even though it is avowedly written for the layman and not for the specialist. Several of its chapters were originally designed as lectures, when the speaker's voice naturally made phonetic notation superfluous, but as phonetic notation *is*, after all, used in the book in its present form, it might have been used throughout, for the sake of clearness and accuracy. It seems to me that such clumsy transcriptions as 'naychure' might well be dispensed with in any book dealing with the sounds of English, however popularly conceived. In some cases they may answer the purpose, in others they definitely do not. When an individual pronunciation of 'Europe' is referred to as 'Yearup' this is neither clear nor accurate. The sounds meant are presumably *jyərəp*, which is a very different matter.

The close connection between anyone's speech and his social class is, as I said, rightly emphasised. 'A man's social class will be more evident from the fashion of his speech than from any other fashion he adopts.' This leads to a recognition of the fact that criticism of other people's speech is really, in many cases, a conscious or unconscious criticism of the social class to which they belong. It also leads to an acceptance of the truth that a social legislation which raises the standard of life among the lower classes will inevitably tend to level distinctions of speech that used to exist before these classes were 'raised'. And what holds good for social characteristics of speech applies, though in less degree, also to dialectal characteristics. Thus the question of speech is linked up with the life of the nation generally. An example of the Higgins-like discrimination with which the author's trained ear has listened to class-varieties of spoken English is his definition of the Mayfair vowel in 'man' as a diphthong: *mæ̃n*.

As befits a phonetician, the author is an ardent champion of the superiority of the sound as compared with the symbol. Perhaps as a result of his daily occupation with matters of 'correct' pronunciation Prof. Lloyd James gives

evidence also, however, of a somewhat contradictory respect for the claims of the written word. When the author asks 'Is *nephew* to be pronounced with a *v* or an *f*? Who can tell?' (p. 88) I do not understand the relevance of either question in the form in which they are stated. And when, on the subject of spelling pronunciations, I find him laying down the principle that 'the influence of the visual is as legitimate as any other influence that has helped to mould the shape of speech', I disagree. When a man pronounces 'Wednesday' as *wednzdi* the odds are, not that he reproduces unconsciously with his tongue what he has so often observed with his eye (such a process might, indeed, be called moulding the shape of speech), but that someone else, a schoolmaster as likely as not, has told him that he ought to pronounce a *d* here because there is a *d* in the spelling, which is an artificial process, and the application of a pernicious doctrine. Incidentally, the author is at variance with himself when on p. 180 he states that a word like 'actor' may become either *actaa* or indeed *actaw*, 'for here spelling steps in and gives the floundering orator or uncertain singer some imaginary support.'

I subjoin a few remarks on isolated points of pronunciation. Prof. Lloyd James appears to have observed 'a popular tendency to place the stress in long words as near to the beginning as possible, with the result that the remaining syllables suffer by the distortion or loss of their vowel-sounds.' (p. 49). To me it seems that in such cases the popular tendency is to throw the stress forward to the second syllable, as witness *hospitable*, *despicable*, *extricable*, *capitalist*, the last pronunciation being in special favour at open-air socialist meetings. It is in accordance with this tendency, and not, as I believe, 'because of *dispute*' that *indisputable* is winning from *indisputable*. — In a variety of affected English, 'church becomes *charch* just as formerly *person* became *parson*' (p. 181). I wonder if instead of an *a:* sound we are not rather dealing here with an open variety of *ə:* such as Prof. Daniel Jones already detected in the pronunciation of Sweet (see Jones, *An Outline of English Phonetics*, third edition, p. 86 note). In any case, *pə:sən* never became *pə:sən*, but M.E. *er* at an early time became *ar* and this *ar* changed much later into *a:* — The intrusive *r* in such combinations as *the idear is*, is by Lloyd James attributed to the circumstance that in groups like *Westminster Abbey*, 'the *r* is pronounced by some and not by others, and this optional liaison leads to false liaisons in places where there is no justification for a liaison at all.' (p. 183). I prefer to ascribe this *r* to the uncertainty caused by such pairs as *Westminster Abbey* and *Westminster Bridge*, *mother* and *daughter* and *mother with child*, while the fact that English initial vowels have a gradual beginning acts as a predisposing cause. The glottal stop stands sentinel before initial vowels in German, preventing the intrusion of an *r*, and making it impossible for any Marlene Dietrich to assure us that she is 'vom Kopf bis Fusz auf Liebe(r) eingestellt.'

In conclusion I would like to draw attention to a matter of more general import. Prof. Lloyd James says (on p. 167) that he tries to teach to the schools of the country a pronunciation which is based, in the case of any sound, on the acoustic average of the social and local variants that he knows of. This is his way of arriving at a standard pronunciation. In the main, I agree with what the author has to say on the subject of standard pronunciation elsewhere in the book. His attitude to this vexed question is both tactful and tolerant. But to this solution of the problem I cannot subscribe. The average of social variants is acceptable to me, because such an average

represents English as it is actually spoken by a large group of educated people, who in their speech reject what they consider as affectations on the one hand, and vulgarisms on the other. If Prof. Lloyd James refuses to bow the knee to public-school English, well and good. Let Eton have its swank to it reserved. But the case is different when it comes to an attempt at finding an acoustic average of *local* variants. This leads to an English that never was on land or sea. To take but one example. What is the acoustic average of the local variants of *further* to be? What noise shall result from the discharge of the roaring river of a Scotch *r* into the pool of silence which is its Southern equivalent? That of a purling brook in Somerset perhaps, where the vowels are retroflex? In practice it will not work. And in theory the procedure is condemned out of the author's own mouth, when he describes the resultant speech as synthetic Standard English (p. 102). Will anybody talk it, he asks. What condemns it, however, is that nobody does talk it. Synthetic speech is just as much an abomination as synthetic beer: both are manufactured, instead of natural products.

The reader will have gathered that *Broadcast English* is nothing if not a provocative book. This, coupled with the original presentment of its subject, it not its least merit. To have written a book on phonetics which does not contain one dull page, and which is enlivened by many a stroke of humour, wit and wisdom, is in itself no mean achievement.

The Hague.

J. KOOISTRA.

*Neue Wertungen im englischen Roman.* VON IRENE MARINOFF.  
142 pp. Leipzig: Tauchnitz. 1932. RM. 8.—.

In this interesting book Miss Marinoff sets herself to show the development of the attitude of modern English novelists towards life and its problems. She begins, historically, with the attitude of the early 20th century writers towards Victorianism, and proceeds from that point roughly up to the year 1930. The book, however, is not a merely historical survey. In the later chapters the historical element recedes more or less into the background in order to make room for a broader treatment, describing the attitude of these writers towards more specific problems. The relation of modern man to the church is brought out very well, showing that the modern age, although perhaps a-religious, is by no means anti-religious. The development from rigid class distinction towards something like an "universal brotherhood" is sketched briefly but accurately. More space is given to the description of the place taken by woman in the modern novel. Here Miss Marinoff is perhaps somewhat too much in favour of the 20th century. It may be true that by the Victorians woman was regarded as an object which one owned like a house, or land, but it is equally true that modern woman, by freeing herself from this inferior position and at the same time from all former prejudices as well as reserves, has in many respects gone far beyond the pretended aim of recognition and comradeship and has sometimes debased herself to a *fille de joie*, a fact not sufficiently considered by Miss Marinoff.

Where the Victorians looked at the world from a fixed set of standard values, modern man, especially since the war, has no values at all; he does not judge but only observes, he takes nothing for granted and is prepared to allow anything if it is done in all sincerity, in the honest intention of finding reality. The importance of this intent search for "reality" is duly stressed.

Miss Marinoff calls the attitude taken by the Victorians "static", that of modern man "dynamic". This may be true if one takes dynamic to mean something like inherently vigorous. But the after-war generation is vigorous only in a negative sense, in dissection and destruction. It may be searching for reality, but it does not arrive at any positive concept of life. Life, for this generation, is nothing but a big question mark, a "tale told by an idiot". These "bright young things" have not come to any constructive idea; after all their labours, and all their search for reality, they come more and more to a conviction of the futility of everything (Huxley, Rose Macaulay), the spirit of resignation is largely predominant. Taken in the whole, the after-war generation is just as static in its concept of life as the Victorians were; every effort at construction, every positive impetus is stifled by the conviction of futility. Thus, in calling these people dynamic, Miss Marinoff is apt to create a wrong impression, although in other parts of the book the modern chaos, the conviction of the pointlessness of life is duly registered.

On the whole the book gives a good picture not only of the English novel of the 20th century but at the same time of the *Weltanschauung* of this whole period. Occasionally, perhaps, too much room is given to the narration of the contents of novels, and some authors (e.g. D. H. Lawrence) are represented rather too one-sidedly. But this only slightly detracts from the value of this interesting study in the changing *Weltanschauung* of the 20th century. A more adequate title might have been chosen for the book.

Freiburg i.Br.

REINALD HOOPS.

### Brief Mention

*Growth and Structure of the English Language.* By OTTO JESPERSEN. Eighth edition. 239 pp. Leipzig: Teubner. 1935. Sewed RM. 4.50; cloth RM. 5.40.

The eighth edition of Jespersen's *Growth and Structure* reaches us just in time for a brief notice of this classic of English studies, which first appeared exactly thirty years ago. A re-consideration of its merits must be reserved for a special article which we hope to publish before long, and in which we shall also deal with the author's more recent contributions to the subject (his *Modern English Grammar*, IV, *Linguistica*, and *Essentials of English Grammar*). — Z.

[Bibliography in the next issue.]

# Language Taboos of American College Students

This study of several closely related groups of taboo words is based upon the lists of taboo words compiled by 361 students (166 men, 195 women; juniors, seniors, and — about one-fourth of the number — graduate students) in an introductory course in the English language at Emory University, Georgia, U.S.A. The collection of the material extended over ten years. The purpose of the study was to throw light upon the language consciousness of college students and to reveal how and why words drop out of the vocabulary of a language. The shortness of the lists handed in can be explained by the fact that all students did not hand in examples of every kind of taboo word and that the students were not trained in observing and recording their own speech habits. Each student prepared his list without any outside suggestions of any sort; the student was not referred to any lists of taboo words reference to which might swell the number of words he listed. Since no penalty was imposed for the shortness of the lists, the words handed in are, I am convinced, genuine, *bona fide* examples of the student's own individual taboos — in many cases highly individual and personal. The study is limited in scope because from three-fourths to four-fifths of the students were Georgians and at least four-fifths Southerners. Moreover, students who registered for this elective course had more than the average interest in language and possessed a greater proficiency in language work than a more general group of students would possess. Finally, since the student had only about ten weeks in which to prepare his list, he could not recall all of his taboos. On account of these limitations, then, the conclusions presented in this article should not be applied too generally.

Before turning in their lists the students had read and had heard discussed in class the various kinds or levels of English. The classes of words dealt with in this article may be defined as follows:

**Provincial.** Words used in a limited locality or region, localisms, words not current throughout the country.

**"Tacky"** (a Southern localism), common. Words used by a person who has received a formal education, who is usually a graduate of at least an elementary school, but who is nevertheless crude, uncultivated, vulgarian — say a person like Mrs. Bennet in Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*.

---

**Editor's Note.** While strongly recommending Professor Steadman's article to the attention of all students of linguistics as a social science (a similar study by the same author on "The Language Consciousness of College Students: Conscious Changes in Pronunciation" appeared in *American Speech*, II. 3. 115-132), we think it our duty to append a caution for the benefit of novices in the field of American English. The lists of taboo words compiled by the author do not, and are not meant to, illustrate the *differentiae* of American, as distinct from European, English; nor do they, except in rare instances, exhibit the "slang" which to most foreigners is synonymous and co-extensive with the American idiom. Only a portion of the linguistic inhibitions catalogued are specifically American, in the sense of non-British; many of them are just as characteristic of the English spoken on this side the Atlantic. Possibly the influence of manuals of grammar and style is a trifle stronger in the United States than it is in the United Kingdom; though both have their illiterate masses striving for some sort of semi-literacy. Of the linguistic aspect of this struggle Professor Steadman's articles provide an authentic record.

**Illiterate.** Words used by the uneducated, vulgarisms (to use the old term). Note that — for these students — the most commonly applied test of literacy is the easy and assured use of the principal parts of strong verbs and the sure choice between such verbs as *lie, lay; sit, set; learn, teach*. Note how numerous such errors are in the "Uncultivated or Illiterate" group of words and expressions in Sterling A. Leonard's *Current English Usage* (Chicago, 1932, pp. 185-86).

**Ungrammatical.** Words and constructions that violate a rule of grammar. This classification was used less than half as often as the classification Illiterate.

**Impropriety.** Venial errors, solecisms, due to confusing words of similar meaning, to using a word as the wrong part of speech, to employing a word in an unapproved sense.

**Colloquial.** Words and expressions not appropriate to formal, carefully considered (chiefly written) language.

All students did not, of course, hand in taboo words of every type. But the average number of taboo words for the students handing in words of the types dealt with here was as follows: Provincial 4, "Tacky" 8, Illiterate 6, Ungrammatical 7, Improprieties 8 (the average for the women was two words higher than the average for the men in the preceding types), Colloquial 1.5. The total number of different words for each type was: Provincialisms 183, "Tacky" Words 482, Illiteracies 361, Ungrammatical Words and Constructions 69, Improprieties 60, Colloquialisms 55. The total number of taboos of each type (counting each word every time it appeared in the students' lists) was: Provincialisms 375, "Tacky" Words 1,106, Illiteracies 903, Ungrammatical 167, Improprieties 167, Colloquialisms 64. With these last figures may be compared the total number of taboos due to uncertainty as to the correct spelling, pronunciation, or meaning of words: 748, 809, 1,253 respectively.

This article is designed for and will be of interest only to readers who are unfamiliar with Southern dialects in America or with American speech in general. Explanations necessary for such readers would appear obvious and tedious to those familiar with the meaning and the connotation of the words discussed here.

Many taboo words may be avoided for several different reasons. But, aside from this multiple objection to certain words, the placing of the same words under different classifications by the different students is due to the student's uncertainty as to the exact meaning of each classification. I have made no effort to point out the student's errors in classification, for his very vagueness as to the nature of a particular taboo throws light upon his language consciousness, which it is the purpose of this article to reveal. A comparison of the lists which follow and a study of the words appearing in two or more lists will indicate the most hated words treated in these articles. It is also interesting to note which taboos were due to direct instruction by teacher or textbook, which were imposed by family, friends, and intimate associates, which were due to general social convention, and which are general and common to many students in contrast to purely personal antipathies. The comments by the students reveal how closely words are associated with the emotional life of the individual and how differently different individuals respond to the same word. Some of the taboo words are due to association with unpleasant objects or ideas; others arise from the fact that the use of the words is associated — rightly or wrongly by the student — with un-

cultured, "low" people whose use has infected the words with an unpleasant connotation. Curiously enough, a verb (for example) may be taboo and the noun unobjectionable. Thus *aim* as a verb is taboo, whereas *aim* as a noun was not listed.

Finally, in trying to teach students to avoid the objectionable words appearing in these lists, the teacher may raise several objections to one and the same word. Thus, if one objection is not convincing to the students, another may be. By using as examples words which the students themselves feel as provincial or illiterate, etc. we can make our own attitude towards these words seem real and convincing to our students — much more than by using for drill or study a list we have drawn up. The advantage of using expressions actually felt as illiteracies by the students, words that are personally significant to the student himself and to his fellow students, is obvious. He values the opinion of his fellow students far more than he does the opinion of the teacher or the textbook maker, who make their living by trying to impose upon the student language habits which he is too often prone to regard as pedantic, puristic, bookish, "schoolmastered" English of no practical importance because unmotivated by any strong social pressure.

### Provincial Words

The following words were listed by more than one student. The number after each word indicates how many different students listed the words in their lists of taboo words.

*ail* ("What ails you?") 2.  
*aim* ("I aim to do it.") 2.  
*allow* (think) 7.  
*belong to be* ("It doesn't belong to be here.") 3. "Common in South Georgia."  
*calculate* (think, intend) 9.  
*carry* (escort) ("Are you going to carry her to the football game?") 10.  
*chigoes, chiggers* (a kind of flea) 2. *Red bugs* (larval mites) is the common substitute.  
*chore* (task, work) 3.  
*chuck* (throw) 6.  
*chunk* (throw) 9. "I avoid *chunk* now, but when I first came to North Georgia, I used *chunk*. All of my friends laughed at the word and so I changed to the word *throw*."  
*chunk* (piece, portion) 2.  
*depot* (railroad station) 2. "Perfectly correct for a one-horse town railroad station, but not for the station in a large town."  
*eats* (food) 2.  
*fetch* (bring, go and bring back) 17.  
*goobers* (peanuts) 2.  
*guess* (suspect, think) 4.  
*honey* (as a term of address) 2. "I would never buy anything from a saleslady who called me 'Honey.'"  
*kinder* (adverb; for "kind of") 2.  
*leave* ("Leave me go with you." "Leave it be." for "Let it be. Let it alone.") 3.  
*lief* (adverb) "I had just as lief go as not." 2.

*lief* (noun) "Will you give me lief to go?" i.e. "give me leave to go." 2.  
*ornery* (ordinary) "An ornery sort of fellow." 2.  
*pack* (carry) "Pack the bundle into the house." 2.  
*pike* (highway) 2. Common in Tennessee.  
*plumb* (completely, entirely) "Plumb tired out." 3.  
*poke* (bag, sack) 8.  
*reckon* (think, suppose) 18.  
*red* (up a room for "clean up") 2.  
*right much* (very much) 2. "Heard for three summers in North Carolina; the expression never ceased to stir up a feeling of repulsion in me."  
*right* (very) ("Right much," "right 'smart' distance," for "considerable distance"). 4.  
*scotch* (block) ("Scotch the wheels of the automobile to keep it from rolling down the hill.") 5.  
*sop* (dip bread in gravy, milk, etc., or, to use another provincialism, "dunk.") 2.  
*sorry* (kind of person for "worthless person") 2.  
*spuds* (Irish potatoes) 2.  
*stoop* (small porch, entrance to house) 3.  
*tacky* (for "vulgarian, common, uncultivated, crude") 2.  
*tolerable* (fairly well, moderately: "I am feeling only tolerable today.") 3.  
*tote* (carry) "Help me tote the package to the car." 53. The high score for this word

is explained by the fact that in class discussions it was used as the typical, stock illustration of "provincialisms." Several students testified that they had no objection to using this word in informal, colloquial English.

*veranda* (porch) 3.

*victuals* (food) 7. One student substitutes "vegetables" for this word!

*wait on* (for "wait for": "Wait on me a few minutes; I will be there very soon.") 3. "When my friend told me that she must 'wait on' her mother, I thought that she meant that her mother was ill. After some embarrassment I learned that her mother was going to join us on our trip."

*want in* (out, down, up) (for "want to come, go, get, in") 2. The omission of the verb here is probably a survival of the Old English omission of an intransitive verb of

motion after auxiliary verbs, as in the poetic "I must away."

*yonder* (there, over there) 4. "On trips north I have made myself conspicuous by using this word and as a result have almost eliminated it in such expressions as 'Look yonder. It is over yonder, Yonder it is.'" *you all* (for *you*) (plural, unemphatic *yóu all* vs. "all of you," "you all") 11. "I use this expression rather consistently in colloquial speech when I am in the South, but avoid it while I am in the North." In spite of numerous statements to the contrary, Southerners rarely or never use this expression in referring to a single person. I have been observing the expression for twenty years and have never heard it used as a singular. Nor have any of my students reported it as used in the singular.

In the list above there are some words which are not, of course, really provincialisms: *chore*, *eats*, *guess*, *honey*, *kinder*, *lief*, *ornery*, *victuals*. It is to be expected that untrained students of language should class as provincialisms some words which are rather illiteracies or simply archaisms. Provincial speech, of course, does contain many archaic words now current only in limited areas, but the currency of words like *lief*, *bounden* (duty), *bandy* (words), *proven*, *pail* (all except the first word listed by only one student) is not confined to any local dialect.

Some other interesting words appearing in the list of only one student and not included in the list of provincialisms printed here are:

*Come back again*. "Being reared in a Southern college town settled by northern people [This is the student's capitalization!], I was not familiar with this expression. As I walked down the path after calling on a neighbor one day, she said: 'Come back again.' To her great surprise, my steps were retraced. I thought she wanted me to come back then. She really was asking me to call again sometimes."

*Coppers* is used in South Georgia for *pennies*.

*Dreamt* for *dreamed* was regarded as a provincialism by one student. Other preterits in *t* listed as taboo are *learnt*, *smelt*, and *spoilt*.

*Eh?* "After a three months' residence in Savannah, Georgia, I formed the habit of using *eh* at the end of every question. 'You are going, eh?' This habit was very common in Savannah at that time and perhaps is still common. When I returned to school in another part of Georgia, many of the girls took me for a native of Savannah because of this peculiarity in my speech."

*Grits* for *hominy grits*. *Grits*, *hominy grits*, *hominy*, and even *mush* are local names for the same thing: finely cracked Indian corn. In some local dialects, however, *hominy* means the unbroken grain. It is sometimes called "big hominy" or "lye hominy." In most local dialects *mush* means finely ground corn.

*Ill*, somewhat literary American English for *sick*, is reported as provincial by one student. It is very common for students to label as affected, provincial, or illiterate any word with which they are not familiar.

*Mare*, recorded as a provincialism by one student, is probably really a sex taboo.

*Parasol* is reported as a provincialism by one student.

*Street car* for *trolley car* is listed as a provincialism by one student, whereas another student regards *trolley* as provincial for *street car*. See comment on *ill*.

*Smart* (verb). "I believed I smarted him in that trade" (got the better of him). I have never heard the word used as a verb, but such conversions or functional changes are extremely common and picturesque in the Blue Ridge and the Ozark Mountain dialects.

## Common, "Tacky" Words

The following words were listed by more than one student. The number after each word indicates how many different students listed the word in their lists of taboo words. Many of the words in this list appear also in the lists of provincial and illiterate words.

- ail (verb) 16.  
 ailment (sickness) 3.  
 aim (intend) 3.  
 ain't 6.  
 awful (good time) 2.  
 bait (of grapes, etc. for "a sufficiency") 3.  
 belch 2.  
 belly 4. "I have always associated *belly* with animals."  
 booze (liquor) 2.  
 boy friend 6. "My boy friend' is unusually 'tacky.' It is used by the type of girl who chews gum, wears anklets, and uses 'jade' perfume. I substitute *friend*."  
 brat (child) 4.  
 breeches (trousers) 13.  
 buddy (pal, companion) 3.  
 calculate (think, plan) 2.  
 chic 2. "My French teacher told me to avoid this word as it is a vulgarism; not used by the best people."  
 chicken (for girl, woman) 2.  
 chitterlings 2.  
 chore 2.  
 chunk (throw) 5.  
 classy (of high-class, excellent) 5.  
 cologne 32.  
 common (unrefined, ordinary) 3.  
 complected 2.  
 court, courting (woo, "rush") 3.  
 cute 2.  
 cutie ("cute" person) 5.  
 dame (woman) 3.  
 date (appointment, engagement) 4. "No woman will ever fill a *date* with me."  
 dearie (as term of address) 3.  
 depot (railroad station) 3. One student avoids *station* and uses *depot*.  
 Doc for Doctor 2. "This word has always had a common flavor to me. I don't think that this contraction can ever gain favor — I hope not!"  
 duds (clothes) 2.  
 eats (food) 6.  
 elegant (fine, excellent) 6.  
 enthuse 6.  
 favor (resemble: "He favors his mother.") 2.  
 female (woman, girl; feminine) 5.  
 fetch (bring, go and bring back) 31. "Associated with uncultivated people." "This word brings back memories of low class people, who use it all the time." The high score on this word is due partly to the fact that in the class discussions it was used as the stock example of this type of taboo word.  
 fiddle 4. "Common, old-fashioned, and vulgar."  
 folks (people, family) 8.  
 fond of (any kind of food) 2.  
 gal (girl) 4.  
 gallery (porch) 2.  
 galluses (popular spelling and pronunciation of *gallows*, "suspenders") 3.  
 gents (gentlemen) 16. "Saloon era associations." "This word positively makes me ill — so tacky."  
 girl-friend 4. "Shop girl usage. I prefer not to refer to the idea. If necessary, I use the expression now in vogue, 'my girl.'"  
 goobers (peanuts) 3. "Associated with tacky people. When I sold peanuts, I found that Negroes usually said 'goobers' and 'ground peas' and that common whites said 'pinders.'"  
 got (have got for "have") 2.  
 granny (grandmother) 2.  
 grub (food) 6.  
 hack (carriage, coach) 2.  
 hanker after, hanker for (want, long for) 2.  
 high-falutin' 2.  
 hollo, holloa (yell) 2.  
 honey (as term of address) 5. "I'm always suspicious of women who call me 'Honey' and this suspicion carries over to men also. Used by Woolworth salesgirls as a term of endearment. It doesn't help them to sell anything to me."  
 how come? ("How come you do it?") 2.  
 hunk (of bread, meat, cake, etc.) 9.  
 jitney (car, bus) 3. "Reminds me of a disreputable hotel cab at home."  
 kid (child) 3. "Suggests 'back-alley' to me."  
 kin (relatives) 2.  
 kind a, kind o', kinder ("A kinder wheel.") 3.  
 kinfolks (relatives) 2.  
 lady (woman) 4.  
 lady friend (for "girl friend," "woman friend," "friend") 3. "I associate this word with uncultivated people trying to appear cultured."  
 learnt (for "learned") 2. *Dreamt* for *dreamed* was listed both as provincial and as tacky.  
 lief ("I'd just as lief go as not.") 2.  
 little woman, little lady (wife) 2.  
 lousy (repulsive, worthless) 3.  
 'low, allow (think, decide, say) 2.  
 Ma (for "Mother, Mama") 4.  
 mad (angry) 2.  
 meeting (church service) 3.  
 mess (of beans, potatoes, etc.) (for "portion," "dish," "meal," "plate") 11. One student substitutes *batch*!  
 mess (muddle) 2.

of verbs misused: *gotten*, *hurted*, *proven*, *had rode*, *woke up for waked up*; possessive with gerund not used; reference of pronouns: *one* to be referred to only by *one*, *one's*; tense of infinitive wrong: "I intended to *have seen* him before he left town;" word order: preposition not to be used at the end of a sentence 5 ("Ruled out by grammars." "This taboo is the result of teaching in the grades." "I avoid the preposition at the end of a sentence in writing, but use it in talking." Very few students make any distinction between formal, literary English and informal, colloquial English<sup>4</sup>); the split infinitive not to be used 6 ("I have always been taught that it is wrong to split an infinitive." "I was taught that it is not good form." Only one student in discussing grammatical taboos expressed a liberal attitude towards this construction: "I invariably split infinitives without the slightest twinge of conscience. A consistent avoidance of this construction sounds affected to me.") Two students list the avoidance of the split infinitive as an affectation.

Miscellaneous grammatical taboos are: *best* for *better*; *as* as a conjunction; *and*, *but*, *or*, *nor*, *for* not to begin a sentence; *don't you?* for *do you not?* [*sic*]. ("If this expression is not ungrammatical, it sounds as though it were. Whenever possible, I substitute: 'Do you not?'"), *I* at the beginning of a letter; *Mary*, *she* told me that she was not going; *more fuller*, *of about* ("a boy of about ten years old"), passive voice weak, *shall* and *will* confused, *that* referring to persons, *till* for *when*, *worser*.

One student wrote this comment on her grammatical taboos: "I made all of the following changes during the past year, my first year of teaching. As a teacher of high school English I thought that it was up to me to follow the rules I taught." This teacher listed the following rules, which she tried to follow implicitly: possessive with the gerund, "It is I" (*he*, *she*, *they*), *whom* as objective case form, the avoidance of the split infinitive, of a preposition at the end of a sentence, of *and*, *but*, *or*, *nor*, *for* to begin a sentence.

Few students listed any grammatical taboos. Fortunately they are not usually conscious of the rules while they are speaking or writing. Rather, the unit for language taboos is the single word or group of words. Each linguistic item is learned and used separately with very little conscious generalization or application of rules. The source of the grammatical taboos and improprieties avoided is in most cases the direct instruction through a teacher or a textbook. Usually, students listing taboos of these types list a very large number; for these types of taboo there is no middle ground: one is either fortunately unconscious of or indifferent to the inhibitions discussed in the textbooks, or one feels that he should obey all the injunctions. A study

---

<sup>4</sup> Only fifty-five different words (representing a total of sixty-four taboos of the ungrammatical type) were listed as colloquial — as not suitable for formal, carefully considered English. Very few students, in listing their taboo words, seemed to be aware of the distinction between the formal and the informal (colloquial) levels of usage. Unfortunately, too many of them regard the term *colloquial* as a label of an inferior kind of English instead of as the description of a form of language which is just as good, when used on the right occasions, as formal English. The following typical colloquialisms were listed as taboos: *auto* 3, *bank on* (count on), *brainy*, *folks*, *fishy* 2 (doubtful, incredible, not true), *fix* (mend) 2, *breeches* (trousers) 2, *mad* 2, *nice* 3, *nigger* 2, *chum* 2, *cute* 2, *hoist* (as "Hoist the window"), *Howdy* (How do you do?), *hunk* (noun), *junk* (to discard), *fine* (adjective), *kid* (child), *cranky* (eccentric), *get* ("Do you get my meaning?" "I get you."), *kind of* (somewhat): "kind of (kinder) tired"), *phone*, *nice*, *right away* (immediately), *let's* (Let us: "Let's go now."), *mend* ("on the mend"), *nasty*, *raise* (rear, as in "rear children"), *reckon* (think, suppose), *scare*, *scoot* (run), *spank* (chastise), *sweat*, *you all*, *yank* (jerk), *yell* (scream).

of the list of grammatical rules given above<sup>5</sup> will show that many of the favorite rules of the prescriptive grammarians are cited, that often no distinction is made in the student's mind between rules proscribing gross illiteracies and rules that are purely theoretical, stylistic, or otherwise of minor importance. Many of the rules are false and should long ago have been discarded from textbooks on English. (See Sterling A. Leonard, *Current English Usage*.)

Emory University,  
Georgia, U.S.A.

J. M. STEADMAN, JR.

## Notes and News

### Correspondentie

Indien het oordeel dat Dr. B. A. P. van Dam over mijn vertaling van Marlowe's *Faustus* in het Februari-nummer van dit tijdschrift geveld heeft (*E. S. Vol. XVII, No. 1, bl. 25-31*) slechts een kwestie van literairen smaak was, zou ik geen reden hebben om daarop te repliceeren. In de critiek van Dr. van Dam is echter ook, en zelfs vooral, sprake van tekstverklaring, het zij mij derhalve geoorloofd een en ander desaangaande in het midden te brengen.

Dewijl dit meer een kwestie van literairen smaak en van taalgevoel is laat ik het aan de lezers over te beslissen of regel 1328 :

*Fau.* Was this the face that lancht a thoufand fhippes ?

beter vertaald wordt door :

Deed dit gelaat een duizend schepen varen

dan door

Dreef dit gelaat die duizend schepen uit

Wat echter den daaropvolgenden regel betreft :

And burnt the topleffe Towres of Ilium ?

door mij aldus vertaald :

En brandde 't Troja's wolkenhooge tinnen ? —

<sup>5</sup> Under the head of improprieties only eighty-eight different words were listed (representing an aggregate of 143 different taboos), but this list contains the favorite proscribed words found in most textbooks on English: *anxious* for "eager" 2, *awful* 4, *badly* for "very much" 2, *calculate* 2 (really a provincialism), *can* for "may" 4, *complected* 3, *eats* (food) 2, *enthused* 15, *expect* for "think, suppose" 4, *fix* (repair) 4, *funny* (odd) 2, *further* for "farther" 2, *graduated* for "was graduated" 2, *guess* 2, *have got* 2, *invite* as a noun 2, *less* for "fewer" 2, *locate* (settle, move to) 3, *lot*, "a whole lot of apples" for "many," "a great deal of" 2, *mad* 4, *mighty* for "very" 3, *loan* as a verb 8, *party* for "person" 2, *preventative* for "preventive" 3, *raise* for "rear" 2, *to suspicion* 7; *liable, balance, but what* for "but that," *effect* for "affect," *either* to refer to more than two, *folks, gotten, powerful* for "very," *a steal* (for a robbery), *transpire* for "happen," *wait on* for "wait for," *suicide* (as verb). The textbooks often condemn *wire* for "telegraph, telegram." One student, however, learned the rule backwards and taboos *telegram, telegraph* and substitutes *wire* for them!

or as improprieties are not as strongly taboo as words classified as provincial, tacky, or illiterate. Comparatively few students (roughly about half as many as listed illiteracies) listed any taboos as ungrammatical or as improprieties, but those using these classifications put under them an unusually large number of words. That is to say, when a student was at all aware of ungrammatical expressions or improprieties, this awareness was very keen and led to the taboo upon many different words. Naturally teachers, more than any other group of my students, revealed such an attitude.

The following words were listed as illiterate by more than one student, the number after each word indicating how many students included the word in their lists. When the same word was also classified as "ungrammatical" or "an impropriety", I have indicated the fact by the abbreviation *Ungram.* or *Improp.*

*aggravate* 2. *Improp* 7.

*ail* 14.

*aim* (verb: intend) 5.

*ain't* 61. *Ungram.* 16. "One of my earliest shibboleths for distinguishing between literacy and illiteracy."

*anywheres* 2.

*at* ("Where is he at?") 2. *Ungram.* 3.

*badly* ("I feel badly") 2. *Ungram.* 2.

*bait* (of apples, for "sufficiency") 3.

*balance* (remainder) 2. *Improp.* 1.

*beholden* (to somebody) 2.

*being(s) as it's you* (since it is you) 2.

*belong to be* (should be) 2.

*betwixt* 2.

*bloke* (slang for "man") 2.

*boughten* (clothes) 2.

*breeches* (trousers) 5.

*burg* (city, town) 2.

*to burgle* (rob) 2. *Improp.* 1.

*burst* (burst) 2.

*busted* (past tense of "burst") 6. "I do not object to *busted* half as much as I do to *burst*."

*calculate* (think, plan) 2. *Improp.* 2.

*chunk* (to throw) 4.

*clamb, clumb* (climbed) 5.

*come* (for "came") 2.

*complected* 7. *Improp.* 3. *Ungram.* 1.

*contraption* 2.

*crave* (desire) 2. *Improp.* 1. [I see no reason for this taboo.]

*croak* (kill a person, die) 2.

*dasen't* (dare not) 4.

*disremember* 2.

*done* (did) 7.

(He) *don't* (for "He doesn't") 11. *Ungram.* 12.

*Double negative*, such as "I can't hardly. I can't scarcely" 10. *Ungram.* 13.

*drunk* (for "drank") 2.

*eats* (food) 2. *Improp.* 2.

*elegant* 2.

*enthuse* 12. *Improp.* 15.

*et* (ate) 2.

*fetch* 18.

*fix* (repair) 2. *Improp.* 4.

*gal* (girl) 7.

*gape* (yawn) 2. [I see no objection to this word. Perhaps the prevalence of the uneducated pronunciation *gæp* may explain its appearance here.]

*gent* (gentleman) 12.

*got to* ("I've got to go," for "must go") 2.

*Ungram.* 4. *Gotten* and "I got him to go" are listed as improprieties.

*grab* (food) 3.

*guy* (man) 6.

*hadn't ought* (should not, should not have) 6.

*have got* (for "have": "I have got two copies of the book" meaning "I possess two copies of the book.") 6. *Improp.* 2.

*heifer* 2. [Really a sex taboo.]

*hern* (hers: "This is hern; that is yourn.") 4.

*him.* 2. See *me*.

*hisn* 8. See *hern*.

*hissel* (himself) 5.

*holp, hope* (helped) 11.

*how come* (why: "How come you say that?") 5.

*kid* (child) 3. [Slang rather than illiterate.]

*kind, these kind, those kind* 6. *Ungram.* 8.

*kind of* (adverb: "He is kind of sick.") 2. *Ungram.* 1.

*lay* (for "lie") 2.

*learn* (for "teach") 8.

*learnt* (learned) 5. [The objection to past tenses in *t* is hard to explain. *Learnt, dreamt*, etc. are also listed as provincial and tacky. *Spoilt* and *smelt* are also taboo to some students.]

*loan* (verb) 2. *Improp.* 8.

*lowed, allowed* (thought) 2. *Allow* is listed once as a provincialism and once as an impropriety.

*me* ("It is me") 3. "It is him, (her, them)" is listed twice as an illiteracy and six times as ungrammatical. "It is me" is listed nine times as ungrammatical but is preferred to the affected "It is I" by seventeen students. This expression illustrates the very important fact that college students prefer to be ungrammatical and incon-

spicuous rather than grammatically correct and conspicuous. With them fear of affectation is a much more powerful taboo than fear of being grammatically incorrect.

*me* ("Me and John got there first") 2.  
*me* ("He is as tall as me," "He is taller than me") 2.  
*mess* (of beans, potatoes, etc.) 3.  
*mighty* (very: "He is mighty proud.") 2.  
*Impropr.* 3.  
*misery* (pain) 2.  
*mought* (might) 2.  
*myself* ("John and myself went first.") 2.  
*Ungram.* 2.  
*nary* (ne'er a: "Nary one did I find.") 4.  
*nasty* (dirty) 3.  
*nigger* (Negro) 2.  
*nigh* (near) 2.  
*nohow* 2. — *noways* 2. — *nowheres* 2.  
*of* (for "have" as in "He ought to of" for "He ought to have.") 5.  
*pants* (trousers) 5.  
*pard* (partner) 2.  
*parson* (minister, preacher) 2.  
*party* (person) 2. *Impropr.* 5.  
*photo* (photograph) 2. *Impropr.* 2.  
*poorly* (feeling poorly i.e. bad) 2.  
*punk* (adjective; really slang) 2.  
*raise* (children; for "rear children") 3.  
*Impropr.* 2.  
*reckon* (think, suppose) 6.  
*recollect* (remember) 2.  
*right* (very) 2. *Impropr.* 1.  
*seed* (saw) 10. *Ungram.* 1.

*seen* (saw) 10. *Ungram.* 1.  
*set* (for "sit") 5. *Ungram.* 1.  
*shut* ("get shut of something", i.e. get rid of)  
 3. *Shed* is often used in this phrase.  
*skunt* (skinned) 2.  
*somewheres* (adverb) 4.  
*sort* of (somewhat: "He is sort of sick today.") 2. *Ungram.* 1. *Impropr.* 1.  
*suspicion* (verb) 11. *Impropr.* 7. *Ungram.* 2.  
*sweat* (perspiration, perspire) 2.  
*sweetie* 2.  
*swell* (person) 4.  
*taken* (took) 8.  
*'taters* (potatoes) 3.  
*that there* ("That there house is his.") 4.  
*Ungram.* 1.  
*theirn* (theirs) 2. See *hern*.  
*them* ("It is them") See *me*.  
*them* ("Them books are mine.") 6. *Ungram.* 3.  
*this here* 4. *Ungram.* 1.  
*tolerable* (moderately well) 3.  
*tote* 24. *Impropr.* 1.  
*tother* (the other, that other) 2.  
*used to could* (once could) 2. *Ungram.* 4.  
*varmint* (brute, creature, vermin) 4.  
*virtuals*<sup>3</sup> (food) 42.  
*was* (See "you was.") If I *was*... 2.  
*without* (as a conjunction: "We can't do it without we get help.") 2. *Impropr.* 1.  
*you was* 4. *Ungram.* 5.  
*young 'un* (young one, child) 2.  
*yourn* (yours) 2. See *hern*.

In addition to the ungrammatical expressions noted in the list of illiteracies, the following expressions were listed: Adjective (*good, real, sure, graceful*) for adverb 8; agreement of pronoun and antecedent ("Anyone can do this if *they* do *their* best.") 2; agreement of subject and verb ("Either of them are able to do it." "Aren't I?" "I weren't.") 3; case of pronouns ("between you and I," "Who do you mean?") 6; dangling verbals; functional shift (conversion) unapproved 2 ("the above," *like* for *as* or *as if*,); idiom faulty (*angry at* 2, *comply to* a request, *connect up*, *different than*, *had better*, *had rather* for *would better*, *would rather* 2, *home for at home*, *off of* 2, *seldom or ever*, *speak to* for *speak with*, *ten-foot poles*, *try and* find it 2, twenty minutes *till* four, the *two first*, *visit with* for *visit*, *whether or no*); principal parts

<sup>3</sup> *Virtuals* could never be used in American English in the way in which A. A. Brockington, (*Browning and the Twentieth Century*, p. 218) uses it: "At Leeds I left the train to collect some virtuals." See the quotations in the *O.E.D.*

I note here a few very curious entries under the head of illiteracies. *Crayfish* — "Until very recently, when I learned something of the etymology of this word and found out that it was used extensively by scientists, I considered it illiterate. I have never been able to shake off this belief." Many students condemn as illiterate, affected, or provincial any expression that is new to them. *Kodak* is taboo for one student, who substitutes *camera* — why, I can't imagine. *Ought* — One teacher avoids this word and prefers *should* because children so often say and write *ought* for *naught* (zero). Another student regards *paper* for newspaper or for the specific name, (*Atlanta Journal*, for example) as illiterate! *Proven*, which is taboo for many different reasons, is described by one student as "an illiteracy of the progressive type of person, the type that is trying so hard to be correct that he makes matters worse by using a substitute that is worse than the taboo word he is avoiding."

- middling* (moderately well: "I am feeling just middlin' today.") 2.
- misery* (pain: "I have a misery in my side. I have a misery today.") 2.
- mosey* (move, walk away) 2.
- nasty* (disagreeable) 2.
- neck* (verb: "fondle") 2. "*Pet* is substituted."
- Old Lady* (Mother, wife) 2.
- Old Man* (Father, Daddy, husband) 6.
- ornery* (ordinary, common) 2.
- Pa* (Father, Daddy, Dad) 6.
- pants* (trousers) 8.
- parlor* (living room) 3. "Belongs in the class of 'elegant' things; the word strikes me as being reminiscent of an impossible period of 'culture.' People who have parlors also have Charles Dana Gibson pictures." "An ice-cream parlor is even worse." "Associated with the old-fashioned, stiff, rarely used 'best room.'"
- party* (person) 5. "This expression jars my viscera."
- peeve* (annoy, irritate) 3.
- pert* (lively, bold) 4.
- piazza*<sup>1</sup> (porch) 2.
- plumb* (completely: "I was plumb worn out.") 2.
- poke* (bag) 3.
- puny* (weak, sickly) 8.
- raise children* (rear children) 2.
- rations* (food) 10.
- reckon* (think, suppose) 5.
- right* (very: "a right smart," i.e., a great deal, "right bright," i.e., very bright) 2.
- rile* (roil) 2.
- scare* (frighten) 2. "In my childhood I gained the impression that this was a vulgar word."
- scent* (smell, perfume) 2.
- sisy* 3.
- skillet* (frying pan) 3.
- skirt* (a girl) 4. "Smacks of the Bowery."
- smack* of (sin etc.: "That remark smacks of hypocrisy, sin, ridicule.") 2.
- smack* (a kiss, to kiss) 2.
- smack* (to hit) 2.
- smart* (intelligent, capable) 2.
- snack* (bite, a lunch, light meal) 2.
- snicker* (giggle) 4.
- sop, sop up* (gravy) (dip bread in, or "dunk") 2.
- specs* (spectacles, glasses) 4. *Spectacles* is taboo to one student.
- spit* (expectorate) 7. There is really no substitute for this word; *expectorate* is listed as an affectation as often as *spit* is listed as vulgarian. I have never heard a doctor use *expectorate*.
- spittin' image* (for "spit and image") 2.
- spoon* (for "pet," "fondle") 2.
- spouse* (wife) 3.
- spunk* (courage, initiative) 2.
- steady, my steady* (for "sweetheart") 3.
- sure* (for "surely") 2.
- sweat* (perspiration) 4. Several students listed *perspiration* as an affectation. There is no satisfactory substitute for *sweat*. One woman teacher in a girls' "finishing school" is said to have told her charges that "oxen sweat, men perspire, and young ladies glow."
- sweetie* (sweetheart) 5. "When I think of this word, I can hear the Beech-Nut chewing gum crackling behind the counter in the Five and Ten, and I can smell the perfume on that counter."
- swell* (pleasant, attractive, excellent) 25. "Reminds me of Kress shop girls." "Ill, bred." "Sounds so poor-working-girlish." The slang equivalents "spiffy" and "swanky" are listed twice as substitutes of *swell*.
- swipe* (steal, take) 2.
- tasty* (appetizing) 2. "Associated with cheap lunch stands."
- tolerable* (moderately well: "I am feeling just tolerable today.") 4.
- tote* (carry) 19.
- two bits* (a quarter, twenty-five cents) 2.
- valise* (suit case, week-end bag) 2. "Like depot, this stirs my extreme wrath. Tacky and old-fashioned sounding." *Grip* is listed as taboo also.
- varmint* (vermin) 5. "Sounds like Uncle Josh to me, countrified." "I prefer a specific noun like mouse, rat, flea, fly."
- victuals* (food) 66. "I have always thought of 'vittles' as the leftovers that one shoves out to a tramp at the back door." "Countrified." "Coarse and inelegant." "Tacky." "Low-bred." "I dislike the sound of the word and associate it with unpalatable food." "Conveys the idea of food slopped together as in hash." "Old-fashioned and common." "This word suggests the negro or the backwoodsman to me, and I never use it." This word appears in many different classes of taboo words: provincial, tacky, illiterate, coarse, bad suggestion, ugly sound, etc. Professor Fred Newton Scott, *The Standard of American Speech and Other Papers*, (Allyn and Bacon, New York, 1926, pp. 181, 185-6, 189-90) points out that more persons listed it among their antipathies than was the case with any other word; eighty-one out of the two hundred and fifty persons reporting to him included this word in their lists. He says that the word now has become specialized in the sense of "uninviting food in unattractive surroundings." (p. 190). The *O.E.D.*, the *Standard*, and the *Century*

<sup>1</sup> *Piazza, gallery, veranda, and stoop* are all listed as provincial, "tacky," or illiterate.

dictionaries do not label this word in any way, and all quote uses of the word by modern authors. Webster's *New International Dictionary*, Sec. Ed., describes the word as "common in dialect," but seldom used in the standard language "except

depreciatively or jocosely."  
*wash* (rinse or bathe) 4.  
*whereabouts* (adverb: "Whereabouts is he now?") 2.  
*women folks* (women) 3.

As was to be expected, the students listed as common and tacky many words which are objectionable for entirely different reasons: *awful*, *chicken*, *cute*, *have got*, *learnt* [Is there any reasonable objection to this word?], *mad* (One student avoids *angry* as tacky and substitutes *mad*), *nasty*.

Some interesting words appearing in the list of only one student and not included in the list of tacky words printed here are:

*chigoes* for red bugs. "This word I have always associated with rugged back-country mountaineers. Only this summer I heard a woman who lived up on the very top of a mountain say that what I called *red bugs* really 'wasn't nuthin' but jes' plain chiggers,' and she reached down and scratched a 'chigger bite' on her knee as she said it."

*commode* (toilet) "Sounds like the refined talk of a scullery maid."

*crib* (barn) "My dislike of this word is probably due to the filth surrounding the first 'crib' I ever saw." *Crib* (child's bed) in also listed as common.

*graphophone*, *gramophone*, *phonograph*. "I always associate these words with dingy, dreary boarding houses or with picture calendars, tables covered with red cloths and red-shaded lamps, and I loathe them all. *Victrola* or *Vic.* is substituted."

*leg* is taboo to one student and *limb* is substituted. The reverse is true of the practice of a second student. The first is probably a sex taboo, the latter an affectation taboo.

*me* as in "I bought me a new dress." [This antipathy is difficult to account for.]

*nobody* (for "no one"). This taboo is probably due to the association with "a body" for "a person" or with such taboo words beginning with "no" as *nohow*, *nowheres*, *no good*, *no count* (of no account).

*quinsy*. "An old-fashioned word which I dislike because of its association with rather common or ancient people."

*satchel* (for "traveling bag," "suit case"). *Grip*, *portmanteau*, and *valise* are also taboo.

*settee* (for "davenport"). To another student *davenport* is taboo and *divan* is substituted. Another student lists *sofa* as taboo.

*shawl* (for "wrap"). "Granny would use a shawl."

*socks*, *stockings*. *Hose* is preferred.

Disrespectful, too familiar, callous and insensitive terms of address are common among the words listed as "tacky": *Ag*, *Fan*, *Liz*, *Sal* for Agnes, Fanny, Elizabeth, Sally; *the madam*, *the missus* (mistress), *the woman* for "my wife"; *the Old Man*, *the Old Woman* for Father, Mother; *parson* for "preacher, minister"; a *broad*, *fin*, *moll*, *skirt*, *squaw*, *wench* for "a girl, a woman." Sentimental, "mushy" terms of address are also frequently listed as "tacky": *baby*, *girlie*, *Hon*, *Honey*, *hubby*, *my dear*, *my man*, *sweet*, *sweetie*, *sweetheart*. The use of such terms in public is in the same class as "petting," "spooning" in public.

## Illiterate and Ungrammatical Words and Constructions

The classifications illiterate and ungrammatical overlap so much that they are treated together. The student, however, does make a distinction<sup>2</sup> between the two words. Ungrammatical is a less opprobrious epithet than illiterate. Words classified as ungrammatical

<sup>2</sup> Rules and generalizations about usage are found most often in the list of grammatical taboos rather than in the list of illiteracies, which are chiefly isolated words and expressions not codified into general statements or principles.

meent Dr. van Dam o.m. „*Tinnen* zijn de gekanteelde bovenste gedeelten van een muur. Dr. Decroos laat slechts die bovenstukken verbranden, terwijl Marlowe de hemelhooge *torens* laat plat branden”.

Dat Marlowe de torens laat *plat* branden is een tendentieuze bewering. Dat ik slechts de bovenstukken laat verbranden is eveneens onjuist. Heeft Dr. van Dam nooit gehoord van de *pars-pro-toto*-figuur?

De critiek op mijn vertaling van vers 1330 laat ik wat ze is, wat echter het volgende betreft:

Heur lippen

Zuigen mijn ziel uit: zie, daar glipt ze heen!

daarbij merkt Dr. van Dam aan: „Het *uitzuigen* van een ziel is niet identiek met het *wegzuigen* van die dichterlijke substantie.” Ik zie voor mijn part in dezen samenhang geen noemenswaard onderscheid tusschen *uitzuigen* en *wegzuigen*. Of meent de criticus wellicht dat *uitzuigen* alleen *leegzuigen* kan en mag beteekenen? Mijn taalgevoel zegt mij wat anders.

Wat nu mijn overbrenging aangaat van de verzen 1-7, op de critiek geoeffend op regel 2 ga ik niet in. Wat immers te denken van de zonderlinge bewering: „Hoe dit ook zij, een onjuiste vertaling, zonder meer, valt nooit te loven, zelfs niet als de vertaler de bedoeling van den auteur prachtig heeft geraden”?

Regel 3:

Nor sporting in the dalliance of loue,

door mij aldus weergegeven:

Niet koozend in het weeldrig minnespel

wordt aldus gecritiseerd: „*Weeldrig* is echte weelde, want het is bij Marlowe afwezig. *Koozend* is een grove fout. In plaats dat de Muze zich verlustigt in het minnespel van anderen, laat de vertaler de Muze zelf minnekoozen.” M.i. komt het er niet zoozeer op aan woorden door woorden als wel verzen door verzen weer te geven. De bewering van den criticus is overigens weer tendentieus. Ik heb niet geschreven

Niet koozend in *haar* weeldrig minnespel.

Dr. van Dam die dat *koozen* der Muze een „grove fout” acht, vindt het echter blijkbaar in den haak dat de Muze in het eerste vers (met de legers) marcheert. Hij vertaalt zelf:

Niet nû op marsch in Trasimeensch gebied

Voor mijn part neem ik aan dat, als de Muze medemarcheert als ze troepen doet marcheeren, zij ook medekoozt als ze minnenden laat minnekoozen.

Regel 4:

In courts of Kings were fstate is ouerturnd;

heb ik aldus overgebracht:

Aan hoven waar de Staat wordt omgekeerd;

Dr. van Dam merkt o.m. aan: „Wat men onder het omkeeren van den Staat heeft te verstaan, mag Joost weten.” Ik geloof niet dat Joost de eenige is die het kan weten. Ik neem aan dat Dr. van Dam ook weet wat een staats-ommekeer of staatsomwenteling is. Zoo’n ommekeer is er b.v. in Marlowe’s *Edward the Second*. (Daar is overigens ook “*dalliance of love*”.) Dr. van

Dam is het waarschijnlijk met mij eens dat *state* niet noodzakelijk *dignity* beteekent, maar ook *staat* kan beteekenen.

Wat nu de regels betreft :

Nor in the pompe of prowd audacious deedes,  
Intends our Muse to daunt his heavenly verse :

Achter regel 4 zetten de moderne uitgevers (m.i. terecht) een kommapunt  
Ik neem niet aan dat Marlowe bedoelt :

Nor sporting in the pompe of prowd audacious deedes,

Doch dat is weer een kwestie van literairen smaak en van taalgevoel. Bij mijn vertaling :

Niet in den glans der grootsche, stoute daad,  
Doet thans de Muze klinken 't hemelsch vers :

merkt de criticus aan: „Ik weet niet hoe ik mij het klinken van een vers in den glans van een daad moet voorstellen.” Daarvan is ook geen sprake. Dr. van Dam overziet de komma die ik achter *daad* gezet heb en die ook hij achter het Engelsch *deedes* zet. De beteekenis van die komma maak ik voor Dr. van Dam duidelijk door een aan de Nederlandsche letterkunde der 17de eeuw ontleend voorbeeld. Heiman Dullaart heeft de volgende verzen geschreven in zijn gedicht *De Geest aan het Vleesch*:

Wat zoon, om een vervloekte daad  
Uit 's vaders oogen weggedreven,  
In eenen jammerlijken staat,  
Loopt niet, op 't vaderlijk erbarmen,  
Uit zulk een tijdelijk verderf,  
Na vaders kus en opene armen.

Die komma achter *weggedreven* en die komma achter *staat* zijn van belang. Die zoon is niet „weggedreven in een jammerlijken staat” en hij loopt ook niet in een jammerlijken staat, hij *is* in een jammerlijken staat. Ik hoop dat de komma achter *daad* nu ook haar beteekenis gekregen heeft in de oogen van Dr. van Dam, die „een goed verstaander” is.

In regel 6 lees ik *vaunt* en niet *daunt*. Ik kan niet aannemen dat Marlowe door de Muze verzen laat temmen of betoomen. Doch dit is weer een kwestie van literairen smaak en van taalgevoel. Dr. van Dam meent „Marlowe is niet zoo verwaand om te zeggen, dat zijn Muze haar hemelsch vers zal laten klinken.” Dergelijke zelfverheerlijking treft men echter ook bij andere renaissancedichters aan, b.v. ook in Shakespeare's sonnetten.

Ten slotte meen ik niet dat Dr. van Dam den passus

*Fau.* Now that the gloomy shadow of the earth,  
Longing to view *Orions* drisling looke,

goed verklaart. Dat de tweede regel door zijn opvatting overbodig wordt, heeft hij overigens zelf gemerkt: hij zet hem in zijn vertaling tusschen haakjes. Hoe *drisling looke* zou kunnen beteekenen *druipend aanschijn* is overigens ook raadselachtig. *To drisle* beteekent nooit *druipen*, wel: *motregen*, in kleine druppels vallen. Wat doorgaans van het water gezegd wordt heb ik toegepast op het licht van het sterrebeeld Orion, van daar mijn vertaling van *drisling looke*: *flikkerblik*. Ik geef gaarne toe dat het een gissing is. Op onfeilbaarheid maak ik geen aanspraak.

Niet ten onrechte noemt Dr. Decroos mijn aankondiging van zijn vertaling hier en daar „tendentieus”. Zij is het aldoor. Zij heeft de strekking aan te toonen, dat er verschillende onjuistheden in zijn vertolking voorkomen, ten deele van minder gewicht, zooals het uitdrijven van schepen en het branden van tinnen, ten deele van zulk een ernstigen aard, dat ik onmogelijk zijn werk heb kunnen prijzen.

Uit zijn wederwoord blijkt, dat ik er niet in geslaagd ben hem van één enkele onjuistheid te overtuigen. Zelfs blijft hij zijn misvatting van *sporting* verdedigen, niettegenstaande ik hem naar de *NED.* heb verwezen, waarin Marlowe's regel wordt aangehaald. Desondanks zou ik gaarne bereid zijn al zijn tegenwerpsels te bespreken, maar ik mag geen misbruik maken van de toegestane plaatsruimte en zal mij beperken tot het voornaamste, zijn regels 3/7.

Voelt Dr. D. niet, dat het logisch verband der zinnen spaak loopt, indien Marlowe zou gezegd hebben *onze Muze zal thans haar hemelsch vers laten klinken* en dan vervolgt met *Slechts dit?* De logische fout valt nog meer in 't oog, indien hij *vaunt* beter had vertaald. Het transitieve *vaunt* (thans verouderd) beteekent *to proclaim or display proudly*; er is geen keus, zie de *NED.* Zoodat *uitbazuinen* juistere dan het slappere *klinken* de beteekenis weergeeft. Men ziet, dat het woord *vaunt* uit den tweeden druk niet past in het zinsverband, terwijl *daunt*, het woord uit den gezaghebbenden eersten druk, Marlowe's tekst logisch en dichterlijk doet zijn.

Tot mijn beleering verneem ik, dat Dr. D. onder de woorden *waar de Staat wordt omgekeerd* een staatsomwenteling verstaat, en tot mijn verwondering hoor ik, dat zulk een revolutie voorkomt in *Edward II*, zoodat dus Marlowe in de regels 3 en 4 dit tooneelspel op 't oog zou hebben gehad. Voor alle zekerheid heb ik het nog eens herlezen. 't Is een stuk van krakeel en strijd, maar naar mijn meening is er van revolutie geen sprake. De staatsordering is niet in geding. *Edward II* blijft koning tot hij afstand doet en zijn zoon hem opvolgt. Laat ik echter eens aannemen, dat deze persoonswisseling revolutie en deze revolutie *omkeering* van den Staat mag worden genoemd, dan kunnen de bewuste regels toch alleen op *Edward II* betrekking hebben, indien dit ook het geval is met *sporting in the dalliance of love*. En dit ontken ik ten stelligste. Het eenige minnespel, waaraan, als 't moet, gedacht zou kunnen worden, zou de verhouding zijn van *Edward II* tot zijn gunsteling Gaveston. Marlowe's Muze heeft die verhouding zeker niet sympathiek uitgebeeld; zij heeft er zich niet in *verlustigd*. En aan die beteekenis van *sporting* ontkomt men niet.

Er is nog een reden waarom Dr. D. ten onrechte een toespeling op *Edward II* aanneemt. Dit stuk wordt wat stijl en behandeling der stof betreft voor het rijpste en het laatste werk van Marlowe gehouden. Zoodat het buitengewoon onwaarschijnlijk is, dat het vóór *Faustus* zou zijn geschreven. *Dido* daarentegen vermoedt men reeds uit Marlowe's Cambridge-tijd afkomstig te zijn.

Dr. D.'s verhandeling over een komma heeft mij niet geholpen den vijfden regel van Dr. D. te verstaan. Liever had ik van hem gehoord of hij den regel met *Tamburlaine* in verband brengt en, zoo ja, hoe dan, wanneer hij, naar zijn zeggen, niet gelooft, dat *nor sporting* onder *nor* moet worden verstaan?

Mij is het duidelijk en ik hoop mijn lezers duidelijk te hebben gemaakt, dat Dr. Decroos Marlowe's regels 3/7 niet heeft begrepen. Dat gaat ook niet, als men het gebruik van goede woordenboeken versmaadt. En dat Dr. D. dat gebruik blijft versmaden wordt bewezen door zijn jongste bewering: „*To*

*drisle* beteekent nooit *druipen*." In de *NED.* bij *drizzie* lees ik onder meer: "to fall, as rain, in fine drops." In het *Woordenboek der Ned. Taal* lees ik als eerste beteekenis van *druipen*: „Van vloeistoffen. Zachtjes, langzaam of bij kleine hoeveelheden naar beneden komen." Hoe fijn de druppeltjes bij *druipen* kunnen zijn leert ons Willems:

De dauw druipt uit de lucht in vroegen ochtendstond.

Den Haag.

B. A. P. VAN DAM.

**B-Examen 1934.** Uit het verslag der examencommissie nemen wij het volgende over:

De uitslag van het examen was gunstiger dan in 1933. In dat jaar kon aan ruim 28 pct. van hen, die aan het examen deelnamen, het diploma worden gegeven; dit jaar bedroeg dit aantal 38½ pct. Van de 10 geslaagde kandidaten deden 3 voor de eerste maal, 4 voor de tweede maal examen; 3 kandidaten hadden vaker examen gedaan.

Het examen geeft de commissie aanleiding tot de volgende opmerkingen.

Bij het zomergedeelte bleek, dat de kennis van de Oud-Engelsche letterkunde en den historischen achtergrond daarvan veel te wenschen overliet.

Wat het mondeling examen in de letterkunde betreft, merkte de commissie op, dat vele kandidaten niet over de biographische kennis aangaande de door hen bestudeerde schrijvers beschikten, die voor het begrijpen van hun werk noodzakelijk is. Bepaald teleurstellend was meestal het inzicht van de kandidaten in het werk van Shakespeare; hun bibliographische kennis betreffende deze groote figuur was vaak totaal onvoldoende.

Bij het onderzoek naar de prosodische kennis van de kandidaten bleek, dat sommigen van hen niet in staat waren een gedicht op natuurlijke wijze te lezen. Ook het lezen van proza was niet zelden onbevredigend. De commissie dringt er op aan, dat de kandidaten zich oefenen in het natuurlijk lezen, niet in de eerste plaats met het oog op het examen, maar omdat de kunst van goed lezen voor hun later beroep van het grootste belang is.

De commissie herhaalt de reeds in 1931 tot de kandidaten gerichte uitnoodiging om op hun leeslijsten aan te geven, welke schrijvers of perioden met voorliefde door hen zijn bestudeerd.

Het is de commissie gebleken, dat het toekennen van twee praedicaten voor het mondeling examen in de letterkunde, een voor de geschiedenis van de letterkunde en een voor letterkundig inzicht, in de practijk weinig voldoet. De commissie geeft in overweging in het vervolg een praedicaat toe te kennen voor de oudere en een voor de nieuwe letterkunde, waarbij de grens ongeveer gelegd zou kunnen worden bij Milton.

De verdere onderdeelen van het examen gaven geen aanleiding tot opmerkingen.

**English and American Literature.** This number contains the first of our new series of annual surveys of current English literature by Dr. Frederick T. Wood. The principal publications in the field of literary criticism and biography, so far as they concern the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, will be dealt with in the October number.

We are happy to announce that Professor H. Lüdeke, of the University of Basel, Switzerland, has undertaken to conduct a similar survey of *American literature*. Readers of *E. S.* may make Professor Lüdeke's acquaintance in the present number, to which he contributes a review. He is also a contributor to *American Literature*, and to German Anglistic periodicals.

We trust that these additions to the contents of our journal will enhance its interest and utility for students and teachers of English literature, and restore to their rightful place in these pages certain aspects of the subject which of late had been insufficiently represented.

## Reviews

*Select Studies in Colloquial English of the Late Middle Ages.* By GÖSTA LANGENFELT. XXVII + 129 pp. Lund, 1933. Pr. 7 kr.

The ten studies in this book are preceded by an Introduction of twenty pages. This introduction contains a number of remarks on colloquial, as opposed to literary English, special stress being laid on the fact that colloquial Modern and Middle English have the same characteristics as King Alfred's prose, which Kellner calls clumsy and slipshod. The syntax of every-day speech, no matter "whether spoken by rustics or rear-admirals," is natural; the syntax of the literary language is artificial (p. XIV). Comparatively few M.E. texts are written in a natural style, so that the Author has had to make a choice. For his investigations he has made use of various collections of private letters, the *Mystery Plays*, *Piers Plowman*, part of Lydgate's works, the *Tale of Beryn*, and a few other texts. How little colloquial English has changed in some respects is seen from the large number of colloquialisms collected from M.E. texts (pp. XXII—XXV) that are still in current use. In the Introduction the Author also takes occasion to refute Eienkel's view that in borrowing from a foreign language the acquisition of single words is soon followed by the adoption of syntactical constructions by pointing out that all that took place when the English became more or less familiar with French consisted in taking over words and expressions, while they retained their English syntax.

The chapter on the French language in England is, of course, based mainly on what Vising has written on this subject.

The next chapter, entitled "M.E. Nationalism," deals with the revival of English as a literary language after the Conquest.

The Author then proceeds to the discussion of "Provincialisms and Class Language." By quotations from the *Canterbury Tales* he shows that some of the pilgrims are aware of their shortcomings in the use of the English language, and apologize for the rudeness of their speech. They sometimes use dialectal words, but what is particularly offensive to 'ears polite' is not their dialect, but the fact that they use 'bad' language. "That there was a class distinction in speech is quite certain" (p. 18).

In the chapter headed "Court Language or Traditionalism" Langenfelt raises objections against Ten Brink's and Flasdieck's views as to the nature of Chaucer's language. He holds that the Court, which according to both Ten Brink and Flasdieck played a considerable part in moulding Chaucer's language, "was unable to set any rule. It was a motley crowd that met at Court." The members were not all of them Londoners; many of them had estates in various parts of the country; the military leaders were often abroad. The Author is at considerable pains to prove that Chaucer's language was traditional. Unfortunately his arguments are largely based upon the results obtained by Dölle in his monograph *Zur Sprache Londons vor Chaucer*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As to the problematical value of Dölle's book with regard to the history of London English I expressed my opinion in *Van Dialect tot Schrijftaal*, 1930, p. 18. In 1931 Chambers and Marjory Daunt expressed the same opinion in *A Book of London English*, p. 5, "Ernst Dölle issued in 1913 an elaborate monograph *Zur Sprache Londons vor Chaucer*, a careful piece of work, the worst thing about which is its title. For there is no evidence that the speech so elaborately analysed in this monograph is really the speech of London before Chaucer."

He asserts that in Chaucer's time the *e* in *love*, *loved*, etc. had disappeared in spoken London English, and quotes a number of lines from Chaucer in which the *e* in *loved*, etc. must have been mute. It is difficult to prove this assertion conclusively. If the cases in which the *e* must for metrical reasons be regarded as 'mute' are accepted as satisfactory evidence of the disappearance of the sound in the spoken language, it does not follow that the far more numerous cases in which *love*, *loved* are dissyllabic can safely be brushed away, because they merely reflect traditional usage. A sound does not disappear all of a sudden; the old pronunciation lingers on for some time by the side of the new one. In present-day German and Dutch final *e* is disappearing in some cases, the result being that double forms are in use. In German the imperative singular of weak verbs occurs with and without *-e*: *mache*, *mach*; *reiche*, *reich*; in the spoken language *ich hab*, *ich seh* are frequent, but *habe*, *sehe* are not obsolete. In Dutch we generally say *dicht bij*, *nog lang niet*, but *dichte bij*, *nog lange niet* are still often heard; we say either *vreugd* or *vreugde*, mostly *veel mensen*, but also *vele mensen*. — In present-day English there are many cases in which there is a more 'advanced' by the side of a more 'conservative' pronunciation, and it seems quite possible that in Chaucer's time a similar state of affairs may have prevailed as regards the *-e* of the infinitive, and the *-e-* in the endings *-est*, *-ep*, *-ed*. — On p. 28 f. Langenfelt quotes two passages which he takes to be proofs that Chaucer himself knew that the language he used was traditional. He further calls attention to modern Swedish, which in its written form is a long way behind the spoken language. In Swedish forms that have long been current in colloquial speech "have for centuries been (and are still) suppressed in the written standard owing to a rigorous conservatism." Various other arguments are adduced, and most readers will probably agree with the Author that the language employed by Chaucer was in many ways traditional, though some may venture to think that it was not quite so far removed from the spoken type as he wants to make out.

The next chapter deals with "Traditionalism and Colloquial Speech." The Author quotes Ascham's well-known remarks on the difficulties attending the use of classical metres in English in connection with the great number of monosyllables, "which commonly be long," and Harvey's objections to Spenser's theory of versification. "The general impression must be that the final *-e*, whether in nouns or verbs, as a rule was mute already about 1350, or earlier, in everyday London Speech." L. gives, in a tabular form, the results in so far as this question is concerned, of the investigations of Dölle, Wild, Morsbach, and Lekebusch, which results are confirmed by Dibelius's comprehensive study of 15th century English. The spelling, however, did not keep pace with the phonetic development, and infinitives were still frequently written with *-e*, or even *-en* (*-yn*) at the end, and preterites often retained the *e* (*i*, *y*) of the ending. The vacillation in the spelling is illustrated by a long list of examples (p. 44 ff.)

"The loss of *r*" forms the subject of a separate chapter. That *r* was sometimes lost in M.E., generally through assimilation to the consonant following it, is well-known; such a formidable array of instances as is marshalled by Langenfelt, has, however, not been brought together before. The 'loss' appears to have occurred more or less frequently before practically every consonant, but especially before *s*. There are even a few instances of the disappearance of final *r*. The Author thinks that M.E. *r* was most

probably apico-alveolar, "since such an articulation would explain the loss of *r* before some consonants (*d, l, n, s, t*)". On p. 52 f. examples are given of the disappearance of *l* between *a, o* and certain consonants.

The chapter on "Stress" opens with a few remarks on Tamson's well-known book *Word-Stress in English*. Tamson's method of dealing with the problem (his conclusions as regards M.E. are based mainly on alliteration), does not yield reliable results. It is especially in the case of Romance words that the stress vacillates in M.E. (and sometimes vacillates even at the present day). Interesting remarks are made on the accentuation of dissyllabic words, which according to Langenfelt had level stress in A. N. The English were "unable to grasp the level stress," and "stressed the words in their ordinary way, i.e. on the first syllable." He also suggests that the Norman barons may have retained the Scandinavian way of stressing the first syllable. Langenfelt holds that although alliteration and rhythm "are not to be considered unimportant when examining the question of stress," there is a safer method, namely to study occasional spellings of Romance words, and the dropping of unstressed vowels. Three lists of words are given. The first contains forms (65 in all!) like *Alson* (Alison), *Amrel* (admiral) etc., in which a non-stressed vowel has been left out after the syllable that has the main stress. The second list illustrates the change of [si] to [ʃ] in *-sion, -tion, -cian*, etc., while the third contains words like *armer, calkelatour, curettes* (curates), etc., in which the spelling shows which syllable is stressed. The occurrence of aphaeresis also affords a means of determining the stress in M.E. words. The subject has been dealt with by Slettengren in his dissertation (1912); Langenfelt says, "there is not much to be added."

Word formation, which is the subject of the next chapter, appears to have been very much the same in late M.E. as it is in present-day English. Owing to the disappearance of the distinctive endings of many categories conversion had already advanced pretty far in late M.E. Nouns were used adjectively, (The *bildere* ook; *Essex* men), and were freely converted into verbs. Many new adverbs were made from nouns (*houswijfly*). The practice of using word groups as names, especially as proper names, is very old. The Author quotes several instances of what he calls 'Bunyan names' from *Piers Plowman* (Dame *Werche whanne tyme is*, etc.), and from a few late M.E. texts<sup>2</sup>.

According to Jespersen, *Growth*, p. 162, names of agents in *-ers (-ars)*, like *doers, hearers*, became popular in the sixteenth century. Langenfelt, however, shows that there are many such names in Wyclif's works, *Piers Plowman*, the *Mystery Plays*, and other texts. In the singular such names are already frequent in O.E. In M.E. their number increased; many of the additions may be imitations of French nouns in *-our*. Formations like Mod. E. *cutpurse, pickpocket, turnkey* became frequent towards 1400; earlier instances are rare. The Author thinks they are imitations of French formations like *coupe-gorge*.

<sup>2</sup> At a later period the Puritans often gave their children names of this type (*Fear-the-Lord, Fight-the-good-fight-of-faith*, etc.). The names of the "Sussex jurors" have gained a certain notoriety. Langenfelt prints them in a note on p. 76. A longer list of the Sussex jurors, found in a document in the British Museum, is printed by Bardsley in his *Curiosities of Puritan Nomenclature*, London 1897, p. 192. The material used in this interesting book has all been taken from official documents, especially from Church Registers. One of the strangest names ever given to a child, *Job-rakt-out-of-the-asshes*, is found in the Register of St. Helen, Bishopgate, Sept. 1, 1611 (l.c. p. 181). According to the Burial Records *Job-rackt-out-of-the-asshes*, who was born on the last of August, was buried on Sept. 2. The reference is, of course, to *Job* II, 8.

The chapter on word-formation is followed by one on word-order. The Author points out that it is more difficult to determine the natural word-order in O.E. than in O. Swedish. Poetry is useless for this purpose, and there is very little O.E. prose that may be assumed to be free from foreign influence. Still there is a sufficient amount of material available to show that O.E. had the Germanic inverted word-order (*Nu hæbbe we ... gesæd*), if the subject did not open the sentence, and that O.E. was "not tainted by the German rule of inversion and post-position of the verb in secondary clauses." Even in classical W.S. "there is a tendency to follow the unconscious rules of colloquial speech." That the word-order became fixed in M.E. had, according to Langenfelt, nothing whatever to do with the loss of the case endings. In the Scandinavian languages the case system has been simplified in the same way as in English, but the word-order has not been affected by the process. The "tendency towards a straight word-order in clauses where we should expect an inverted order" asserts itself at an early date: it is already noticeable in the *Peterborough Chronicle*. Yet even in 15th century letters and plays the old synthetic word-order is still very frequent, as in "All this language *had thei* whan that I was gone"; "and therfor *wold he* that Fen should have it," to quote only two out of the numerous instances given. Langenfelt lays great stress on two factors that may have contributed a great deal towards fixing the word-order in English, namely the frequent introduction of direct speech in the middle of a narrative, and the circumstance that during the fourteenth century nouns and infinitives had often come to be identical in form.

The last chapter has the curious heading "To do or not to do". It contains a detailed discussion of the origin and history of *do* in M.E. This discussion is, naturally, to a great extent based upon the investigations of others. The origin of periphrastic *do* is, according to Langenfelt, the outcome of the following causes: *a*, the auxiliary *gan* lost its original meaning, and was replaced by *did* (*do*); *b*, the causative *do* lost its causative function, and became a mere periphrastic auxiliary; *c*, owing to the loss of endings many verbs came to be identical in form with the corresponding nouns; in *he did sinne* the word *sinne* might be either a noun or an infinitive.

I hardly think Langenfelt has solved the *do* problem. If the substitution of *did* for *gan* had been anything like a regular process, there would be many instances of *did* in a late copy of a given text taking the place of *gan* in an early copy. Such instances are, however, extremely rare<sup>3</sup>. Further the *gan-did* theory does not account for the early appearance of the present *dost*, *dob*, etc., examples of which are fairly frequent in the legends in M.S. Laud 108, dating from c. 1280, and in the slightly later MS. Harl. 2277, and MS. Ashmole 43.

A Dutchman cannot help being rather sceptical about periphrastic *do* having developed from causative *do*. In the use of causative *doen* M.Du. agrees with early M.E.; in Mod. Du. causative *doen* is still in regular use, although it is more frequent in the written than in the spoken language. Yet in M.Du. periphrastic *doen* was employed in the same way as *do* in late M.E. (and in Mod. E.). In passing it may be remarked that in M.Du. vicarious *doen* is also used in the same way as vicarious *do* in English.

<sup>3</sup> Here are two instances. *Amis and Amiloun* 2179, Auch. MS., *sche gan him lede*; Douce MS. (15th cent.), *thei dide him lede*; *Sir Orfeo* 493, Auch. MS., *þe steward þe lond gon hold*; Harl. MS. (2nd half 15th cent.) *dob hold*.

The factor mentioned under *c* may certainly have furthered the introduction of periphrastic *do*. Still, M.Du., in which *doen* + noun is often found instead of a verb, shows that periphrastic *do* might have developed without the levelling of noun and infinitive taking place.

That periphrastic *do* was first used in affirmative statements seems quite certain. Langenfelt, too, arrives at the conclusion that *do* is rarely found in negative, interrogative, and negative-interrogative sentences and clauses in texts dating from before the 15th century.

As is well-known, emphatic *do* (in commands) is not unknown in O.E.. Langenfelt thinks that in some (or all?) early examples emphatic *do* really has a causative meaning. To my mind this seems doubtful.

Amsterdam.

W. VAN DER GAAF.

*Athelston, A Middle English Romance*. Edited by A. McL. TROUNCE. (Publications of the Philological Society, xi.) pp. viii, 157. Oxford: University Press; London: Milford. 1933. 6/— net.

The romance of *Athelston*, a moderately pleasing specimen of the fourteenth century 'tail-rhyme' group, has been newly edited with a wealth of apparatus. (There are twenty-seven pages of text in the volume of one hundred and fifty-seven pages.) The work was worth doing, since Zupitza's edition in *Englische Studien* xiii and xiv is not readily accessible to all students. The present editor gives a careful transcript of the unique manuscript: Caius College, Cambridge, 175, dating from the early fifteenth century. For the sake of the appearance of the text, indications of such things as expansion of contractions are omitted, but footnotes point out illegibilities, erasures, insertions, etc.

The story turns chiefly on the sworn-brotherhood of Athelston, afterwards king of England, and three friends, one of whom proves false, accusing another, Egeland, of treachery to the king. Egeland's wife and children also fall under the accusation, and all are compelled to undergo the ordeal by fire. They are proved innocent, and the traitor, Wymound, is put to death. An important part in the story is played by Archbishop Alryke, who helps the accused by demanding a fair trial for them, gains the support of the barons against the king, and forces the submission of the latter.

The editor adduces parallels to the various phases of the story from English romances, French *chansons de geste*, and German poems, and gives a good account of the institution of 'sworn-brotherhood' and of the different methods of trial by ordeal. The English material and the names of the characters are discussed in considerable detail, together with the possible relations of the poem to fourteenth century political conditions. Local references to places in London and on the Dover Road add considerable interest, and the editor makes out a good case for identifying two places whose names have now disappeared: the *brokene cros* (? near St. Paul's) and the *Elmes* (? Tyburn).

Accounts are given of the verse and of the dialect. The form is the twelve-line stanza containing 'four rhyming couplets of four-stressed lines, these couplets being divided one from the other by a shorter so-called tail-line of

three stresses', the tail-lines rhyming together. Alliteration sometimes occurs, chiefly in set phrases and poetic formulae (*be leff vndyr a lynde, as bryzt as blosme on brere, to begge ne to borwe*). The dialectal features point to East Anglia as the place of origin, possibly Norfolk (where, in spite of the editor's doubts, *ē* for O.E. *ȳ*, seems quite possible, to say the least, even in North Norfolk, by the late fourteenth century, which is suggested as the date of the poem; *ē* occurs, for instance, not infrequently in the Lynn Gilds). The use of Vocabulary as a test of dialect, though excellent theoretically, can only be very tentative until more work has been done on the vocabulary of writings of known provenance. It might be suggested, for instance, that the infrequency of Scandinavian words may be partly a matter of chronology, not only of locality. The editor quotes a number of alliterative phrases, occurring in the poem, which are common in West Midland — or apparently West Midland? — alliterative verse. The discussion of the dialect would be easier to follow if the editor had made it clear what he understood by the terms 'Northern' and 'Southern'. The term 'front consonant' for *d*, *n*, *r* (p. 46) may be mentioned as somewhat unusual. The notes at the end are full and in many cases interesting, though sometimes the points dealt with are unnecessarily trivial.

London.

MARY S. SERJEANTSON.

*The Oxford Book of Seventeenth Century Verse.* Chosen by H. J. C. GRIERSON and G. BULLOUGH. Pp. xiv + 974. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1934. Price 8/6 net.

*The Metaphysical Poets, Donne, Herbert, Vaughan, Traherne.* By J. B. LEISHMAN. Pp. 232. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1934. Price 10/— net.

*Four Metaphysical Poets, Donne, Herbert, Vaughan, Crashaw.* By JOAN BENNETT. Pp. 135. Cambridge University Press. 1934. Price 6/— net.

From being too much neglected, the metaphysical poets now risk becoming too popular; the output of studies on them has been constantly increasing in the last ten years; the market, I should think, has now reached the point of saturation. Witness the two volumes by Mr. Leishman and Miss Bennett. They are both creditable performances; they show a thorough acquaintance with and comprehension of the poets with whom they deal; but people who have read previous critical literature on the subject will hardly find that the two present scholars have anything to say which has not been said before. These are parerga with hardly any sprinkling of paralipomena; the fault is not with the critics, but rather with the authors, who do not lend themselves to endless investigation like geniuses of the first magnitude. Is Donne such a genius, or is rather the bustle created about him by a few moderns, thrilled by his unusual mood, responsible for his vogue among young graduates? Would Miss Joan Bennett ever have written on the metaphysical poets, were

it not for T. S. Eliot's Cambridge lectures on them? She says: "Experience to the metaphysical poets was, as it were, grist to an intellectual mill. They looked for a connection between their emotion and mental concepts... In metaphysical poetry emotions are shaped and expressed by logical reasoning... Donne looks for intellectual shapes congruent to an emotion which is itself both felt and thought... His principal innovation was to make the cadences of speech the staple of his rhythm... It is a dramatic rhythm which gives the illusion of talk in a state of excitement, etc." These and suchlike expressions are mere *fioritura*, however good, of what Grierson, Eliot, Pierre Legouis, myself, and a few others, had said a long time ago. The day has come when Donne can be studied *sans larmes*. Mr. Leishman's metaphysical primer ("This book will form a starting-point for further exploration of a varied and fascinating region of English literature") will enable any undergraduate to experience all the thrills of a Bloomsbury highbrow. His method is surprisingly like the one I adopted ten years ago to make the Italians acquainted with Donne and Crashaw (in *Secentismo e Marinismo in Inghilterra*). But I suppose there is nothing personal in a way of presentation which traces a poet's career with the help of a full and representative selection from his writings, "which are illustrated by an account of and comment upon such contemporary movements, ideas, feelings and intuitions as must be understood by the modern reader who aims at full enjoyment."

However, I have the pleasure of finding myself in agreement with Mr. Leishman also in many details about Donne, although he has been deprived of the corresponding pleasure (because no doubt he would reciprocate my feeling) through his apparent ignorance of my book (assuming that non-quotation means unacquaintance). For instance, after quoting *in extenso* several songs, he writes: "Of course, one cannot speak with certainty, one cannot assume that either the experiences or the facts were exactly as I have suggested; but it is at least probable that some such dialectic lies behind the poems we have been considering. I have offered the reader an hypothesis, a scaffolding, which he may find useful, and which he is at full liberty to reject after it has served its turn. For in the interpretation of poetry, while it is absurd and unnecessary to ask, What was the precise, particular experience from which it arose? it is most important to ask, and to try to answer, the question, What was the *kind* of experience?" Cf. *Secentismo e Marinismo*, page 17: "I am expounding and co-ordinating these love songs according to the various kinds of feelings shown in them; it little matters if, instead of being addressed to the same woman, they were addressed to several, as certain psychological situations repeated themselves on different occasions and elicited similar response from the poet; or if they are nothing else but imaginary reconstructions of situations only in part noticed or guessed at in actual experience. Indeed to arrange the various poems in such a way as to trace a convincing love story and identify the characters, as Gosse, and, far less deftly, Fausset, tried to do, is an enterprise doomed to failure in the field of historical research, as well as superfluous for the understanding of the work of art." On p. 21 of his study Mr. Leishman contrasts Donne's realism with the conventional ornaments of Elizabethan poetry in much the same way as I had done on page 11 of my book, to conclude: "This (realism), and not the metaphysical wit, which has hardly appeared yet, is Donne's great original contribution to English poetry... Let us now return to the substance of the poems, etc." I had written on page 12: "But in Donne's

songs and elegies we feel the very throbbing of life... Let us now read these poems, and not be disturbed for the present by the crabbedness and extravagance of certain images." In order that we may appreciate the change which has come over English poetry, Mr. Leishman asks us to consider a typical Elizabethan poem (by Sir Philip Sidney) side by side with one of Donne's in which a similar idea is expressed. I had aimed at the same appreciation through considering a typical Elizabethan poem (by Campion) side by side with one of Donne's in which a similar idea is expressed. "When Donne uses images and comparisons," says Mr. Leishman, "they are very often intellectual rather than sensuous or pictorial. Instead of drawing them from the sights and sounds of the world around him, he draws them from philosophy, theology, or science." Commonplace as this statement is now, in 1935, it was much less so in 1925, when the following was written (*Secentismo e Marinismo*, page 121): "To conclude what we have said so far: Donne substitutes for nature his intellectual world, for the sensuous elements — music and colour — so much in favour with the Elizabethans, logical geometrising and abstruseness; for mythology and conventional embellishments, images and figures of speech derived from everyday experience or scientific knowledge." Mr. Leishman comes even closer to this sentence on page 35: "Let us now recapitulate briefly the conclusions we have reached so far about the style of Donne's poems. (1) Most of them are intensely realistic; they try to convey as directly as possible, and without idealization or adornment, a particular experience in all its complexity and concreteness. (2) Some of them try to do more than this, to interpret the experience by means of intellectual as distinct from pictorial symbols, etc." On page 36: "People had been accustomed to hearing the sun addressed as Hyperion, but to hear him called 'Busie old foole' and 'Sawcy pedantique wretch' was quite new and rather fascinating. This application of familiar epithets and comparisons to things which had usually received dignified ones was one of Donne's innovations." The same remark, illustrated through a comparison of Donne's *Sunne Rising* with Marlowe's translation of the thirteenth elegy of the first book of Ovid's *Amores*, can be found on pages 116-17 of *Secentismo*. On p. 60 Mr. Leishman traces medieval strains in Elizabethan literature and warns: "Indeed, we are too apt to forget that the phrases 'Middle Ages' and 'Renaissance' are after all only rough generalizations," etc. On pages 112-13 I had discussed the so-called English Renaissance and had concluded that, so far at least as England was concerned, it seems "very debatable whether one could mark a more than superficial distinction between the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance," etc. On p. 114 I had examined the taste for the macabre as a characteristic of the late Middle Ages chiefly in France; on p. 70 Mr. Leishman similarly descants on the danse macabre after having remarked: "One of the most remarkable differences between the literature, not only of the Middle Ages, but also of a great part of that of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and our own, is the frequency of references to, and meditations upon, death."

These analogies of treatment are after all not so surprising. After ten years of vogue of Donne and his school, certain ideas are, as the saying goes, in the air. Mr. Leishman's study of Donne is, without his knowing it, I suppose, almost a duplicate of another's essay written in 1925, just as Miss Bennett's book is a pleasant series of variations of a tune set by T. S. Eliot. The metaphysical ball-room is now so thronged with young dancers, that they

cannot help treading on each other's feet. Even the title-pages of Mr. Leishman's and Miss Bennett's books are the same: four metaphysical poets here, four metaphysical poets there. A twang of Eliot's fiddle called them up for their quadrilles.

Mostly *parerga*, then. And what *paralipomena*? Mr. Leishman reacts against the picture of Herbert "as a mild and retiring gentleman with a taste for flowers", has some good remarks on Herbert's symbolism of ordinary things (Holland, I think, which can boast Roemer Visser's emblems, ought to appreciate more than any other country Herbert's similar ingenuity in deriving a lesson from homely objects), calls attention to the use of the adjective *white* in Henry Vaughan, and, since he compares Vaughan's love of nature with Marvell's, he might well have put the former's "white, Celestiall thought", side by side with the latter's famous "green Thought in a green Shade." He calls Vaughan's and Traherne's thrilling discovery of the divinity of childhood "quite as important as any of those made by the members of the Royal Society", and finds in Traherne anticipations of Berkeley, and both in him and in Vaughan anticipations of Wordsworth. Miss Bennett, too, dwells on the similarity, often pointed out, between Vaughan and Wordsworth, but has something more original to say about Donne's influence on G. M. Hopkins. Her remarks are always apposite, if not frequently new. But we do not seem to have read elsewhere the following: "We expect from poetry something which is often called 'verbal magic', whereby the single word, in its context, assumes a richer significance than that which ordinarily belongs to it. This is owing largely to the sequence of sounds; but also largely, in most poetry, to the associated memory of emotion and sensation that the word brings with it. Donne's words bring with them the memory of abstract ideas. The magical lines in his poetry are those which evoke such conceptions as those of space, time, nothingness, eternity:

Let maps to other, worlds on worlds have shown.

Love, all alike, no season knowes, nor clyme,  
Nor houres, dayes, moneths, which are the rags of time.

He ruin'd me, and I am re-begot  
Of absence, darknesse, death; things which are not.

All changing unchang'd Antient of dayes."

Miss Bennett seems to think that the conjunction of physical torture with sensual love was to Crashaw exceptionally pleasurable and inevitable, that in his lines we feel the luxury of pain. Had she studied the background of Jesuit poetry which must be taken into account in order to understand Crashaw's verse, she would hardly have seen in that trait something peculiar to the English poet. On page 145 ff. of my book quoted above, I tried to illustrate that background.<sup>1</sup> No doubt Crashaw's soul responded to the conjunction of physical torture with sensual love, but this conjunction was universally proclaimed by Continental art, which the Council of Trent had instructed to exalt martyrdom. Bernini's Saint Theresa, and Crashaw's Saint Theresa, the gaping wounds of Rubens' martyrs and the gaping wounds of Crashaw's Crucified Lord, are first of all expressions of a widespread

<sup>1</sup> See, now, also E. I. Watkin's excellent essay on Crashaw in *The English Way, Studies in English Sanctity from St. Bede to Newman*, London, Sheed and Ward, 1934.

sensibility. On another occasion some knowledge of Continental literature would have proved useful to Miss Bennett, when (pp. 76-77) she is content with remarking how hackneyed the images are in the following stanza of Vaughan :

Thus to the North the Loadstones move,  
And thus to them th' enamour'd steel aspires :  
Thus, Amoret,  
I doe affect ;  
And thus by winged beames, and mutuall fire,  
Spirits and Stars conspire,  
And this is LOVE.

This stanza offers in fact a striking illustration of a parallel often drawn between the English metaphysical poets and the Italian metaphysical poets of the thirteenth century. Nearly the same two images occur in Guido Guinizelli's famous canzone on Love :

Amore in cor gentil prende rivera  
per so consimil loco  
come adamas del ferro in la minera.....  
Splende in la intelligenza de lo cielo  
Deo creator più ch'a' nostri occhi 'l sole, etc.

Metaphysical poetry does not after all loom so large in the *Oxford Book of Seventeenth Century Verse*, although Prof. Grierson has contrived to include in it all the significant poems written in a strain which he was among the first to teach us to appreciate again. The anthology mirrors a very catholic taste, so catholic indeed as to include pieces about which not everybody will agree with the editors' statement: "The present editors' guide in selection has been quite simply their individual reaction to the element of poetry which each piece contains in fuller or lesser measure." One wonders sometimes whether what we have before our eyes is really poetry, or not rather verse only. But this, I suppose, is a defect of all anthologies conceived on a such large scale as this one; on the whole, the volume is incomparably more representative than the seventeenth century section of *Ward's English Poets*, where the "metaphysicals" were hardly included at all.

Just to give an illustration of the excessive concessions made to every possible kind of taste by the editors, I, for one, fail to see anything but album verse in Herrick's *Request to Julia* :

Julia, if I chance to die  
Ere I print my poetry ;  
I most humbly thee desire  
To commit it to the fire :  
Better 'twere my Book were dead,  
Than to live not perfected.

And I fail to see any poetry but in the title of Joshua Sylvester's *Omnia Somnia*. But it is perhaps the aim of an anthology of this kind that every possible poem which rightly or wrongly became memorable should be found in it.

*The Northern Element in English Literature.* By SIR WILLIAM CRAIGIE. Toronto, 1933. 135 pp. 6/6 net.

At first sight one is apt to think that the subject of this small book is Scottish influence on English literature. That is however not the case. In the first place, northern includes not only Scottish, both lowland and highland, but north English and Scandinavian. Of these, the Scottish and Scandinavian elements, as one would expect, are most prominent and are treated at greatest length. In the second place, the book deals scarcely at all with influences, those abstract, illusive and often highly questionable matters, but is content to point out what characteristics in English literature came from north England, from Scotland, or from Scandinavia. It is brief in treatment, — necessarily, for it consists of four lectures, the Alexander Lectures delivered at Toronto University in 1931 — and makes no pretence of completeness. Nevertheless Sir William has indicated the chief facts with clearness and with the easy authority that comes of his intimate knowledge of at least six literatures.

The most striking result of his investigations is the meagreness of the northern element in our literature, even in the nineteenth century; while before the middle of the eighteenth it was practically non-existent. This was partly due to the southern orientation, the dominance of Latin learning during the Anglo-Saxon, and of French culture during the Middle English period; partly to English ignorance of Scotland until the union of the parliaments and the campaigns of Montrose, Cromwell and Prince Charles Edward aroused an impatient or anxious interest in the country. Scandinavian literature began to be known only in the eighteenth century through Latin translations — and through Paul Henri Mallet's French history of Denmark, if one may be allowed to supply a slight omission. Percy and Gray were the first English writers to be attracted by it. Their example was however not followed. With the exception of Scott's rather fantastic picture of Orcadian life in *The Pirate*, some minor nineteenth century novels — one thinks of Hall Caine! — and Morris' *Volsung saga*, little use was made of Scandinavian mythology, religion, lyric, or epic.

The cause of this with regard to North English and Scottish "lies in the absence of great writers capable of hearing the voice of the North, and giving expression to its suggestions." But this condition obviously applies to all subjects. Genius is necessary first of all, and then material proper to it. There must be some special reason in this case, and that is, as has been said above, the southern orientation of English culture. This affects particularly, of course, Celtic and Scandinavian subjects. Themes from Celtic and Scandinavian antiquity, and their legendary and historical background are unfamiliar in comparison with those of classical, romantic, or even oriental origin (124). This seems plausible. When however Sir William declares a chief obstacle to be "the lack of familiar English words to express some of the fundamental terms which occur in the older literature of the North, such as *godi* or *thing* in the Icelandic sagas" (ib.), he is less convincing. It is true that, for example, "Icelandic place-names, like *Svinadalr*, *Borgarfjörðr*, *Hjardarholt*, and *Laugar*, cannot be transplanted in these forms into English verse or prose" (125), but the ordinary reader — and on him, not the man who is familiar with the original Icelandic terms, the popularity of a piece is dependent — does not feel them less poetic when translated by *Swinedale*, *Burgfirth*, *Herdholt*, and *Bathstead*. I have always felt the Englishings in

the Icelandic adaptations and Old Germanic romances of Morris sufficiently suggestive of the primitive life and language to produce the desired illusion. Morris' failure in his *Gudrun* is due to a certain long-windedness and to the nerveless verse.

At the close Sir William ventures to conjecture that the influence of the North will not be unimportant in the future, pointing for support of his belief to the greatly increased interest in northern literature manifested by the number of translations and other works that appeal to the general reader, and to the intense interest which Scandinavian countries have in English literature and the English-speaking world; while on both sides of the Highland line in Scotland too there is fresh literary activity on a basis of national feeling and national speech (129-130). And he finally indicates the early history of Scotland on the one hand and the ancient Scandinavian mythology and religion as well as the Sagas on the other, as affording abundant material for lyric and narrative poetry, drama, historical fiction and pure history, of which surprisingly little use has been made.

Groningen.

J. A. FALCONER.

*William Bartram, Interpreter of the American Landscape.* By N. BRYLION FAGIN. xii and 229 pp. 8°. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1933. \$ 2.25.

William Bartram's claim to immortality in the literary textbooks is based on a single work, his *Travels through North and South Carolina*, etc., published in 1791 and read and absorbed by Coleridge and Wordsworth. The analysis of the book here offered shows plainly, and the critic admits candidly, that Bartram's literary craftsmanship was only of second or even of third rate quality and one may well doubt, in spite of Lowes' expressed delight and Van Doren's reprint, whether such a work and such a writer is not implicitly over-estimated in being treated with such wifely devotion and conscientiousness as is here the case. Such a doubt is not meant as a disparagement of the work itself; the author has done his job very well indeed and leaves, in this respect, nothing to be desired. He gives as full length a portrait of William Bartram as the somewhat meagre material will allow and incidentally shows plainly that the elder Bartram (John), was obviously a much more interesting personality than his literary son.

Bartram left his modest place as the most important of the early American travel and nature writers and touched the main current of great literature when Mr. Lane Cooper, Mr. Gilbert Chinard and Mr. Livingston Lowes, among others, discovered the use made of the materials in his book by the Romantic poets of Europe. On the poetry of his own country he had practically no influence. Especially Mr. Lowes' *The Road to Xanadu*, with its textual references and its copious extracts in the notes, has attracted revived attention to Bartram, whose chief value lies in his fructifying influence on Coleridge, Wordsworth and Chateaubriand. This part of the investigation, however, had been accomplished so thoroughly by his predecessors that the present author had very little of any importance to add, chiefly following out the lines indicated

among the English Romantics as low down the scale as Felicia Hemans and as late into the century as Lafcadio Hearn. His additions do not in any sense change the now current conception of Bartram as purveyor to the Romantics of colorful landscape and exotic plants and animals, but the full extent of Bartram's function in this connection has now become clear.

Five eighths of the book is taken up with Bartram's life, his philosophy and his *Travels*. Here the author has succeeded in filling out the already known sketchy outlines with a great mass of details. Biographically he attempts — successfully — to paint a portrait of the man, contrasting his rather dreamy waywardness and sensuous enjoyment of nature with the energetic purposefulness of his father. The two are rather neat types of the generations to which they belonged! Bartram's philosophy of nature — the best chapter in the book — is placed in clear relation to the humanitarian aestheticism which nourished it. His studies of the American Indian are, by comparison, somewhat vaguely treated; Bartram's position in the development of American ethnology is not very sharply defined. The chapter on the elements of his landscape, on the other hand, is all the fuller — rather heavy, in fact, and pedantic in its meticulous completeness of detail. A final chapter (in this part) analyses Bartram's style with good sense and shows its roots in the rhetorical poetry of the age. Aside from a few misprints (e.g. the German quotation on page 112!) the work is well done.

Basel.

H. LÜDEKE.

---

*Das Amerikanische Kurzschauspiel zwischen 1910 und 1930.*  
 Von GUSTAV L. PLESSOW. 269 pp. Halle: Max Niemeyer. 1933.  
 RM. 10.—.

This exhaustive and careful study does not deal, as its title might lead one to suppose, only with the history of the most significant development the art of dramatic composition has known, up to now, in the United States. The history of the one-act play having been written more than once, the author of this work set himself the task of going deeper into the subject than any of his predecessors in the same field had done, or indeed had ever attempted to do.

That the fascinating theme which the American one-act play (the hyphen is given here its full value) offers to the student of the drama had not yet been thoroughly investigated, at least in one of its essentials, appears to have been due, as we are told in very convincing fashion, to the fact that all previous definitions touching the nature of this particular species of dramatic composition had been unscientific and therefore incomplete and in some degree lacking in precision. Even when they contained nothing unsound; even, as was often the case, when they showed a remarkable insight into the peculiar qualities of form, treatment and aim which differentiate the one-act play from every other kind of play, these definitions left out one thing without which they could not but fail to be wholly satisfactory. They enumerated the "hows" of the matter but gave no adequate explanation of the "whys", that is, they analysed the effects obtained in the one-act play but omitted to point out

that such effects were made possible by a unique organic structure, into the secrets of which they did not think of probing. They made it clear that a one-act play was in some way different from a skit, a sketch or a playlet; that it was by no means a play which for brevity's sake or from motives that had nothing to do with artistic necessity had happened to be condensed into one act though its substance might at will have been spread out over two or three acts. So far, these definitions held good, but they did not go far enough.

The fuller definition given by Gustav L. Plessow lays stress, and rightly so, rather upon what the one-act play is than upon what it is not. A one-act play is, generally speaking, a brief, undivided, homogeneous whole. But it may be also be made up of several scenes (O'Neill's *Emperor Jones* is the most typical instance of this) and it may even offer a visible division or pause indicated by the fall of the curtain (as in Susan Glaspell and G. Cram Cook's delightful *Suppressed Desires*). But whatever variation from the most usual type it may outwardly present, the structure of a one-act play never fails to reveal to a close scientific analysis an all-important trait which proves it to be organically different: its pattern or curve, when inscribed diagram-fashion, invariably shows only one "peak" towards which the whole play tends. This "peak" may be reached either in the middle of the play or at its very end; it may even occur as the last of a series of smaller peaks gradually leading up to a structural and emotional climax. The "singleness of effect" pointed out by other critics is thus shown to be due to an ever-present and deep-lying condition, without which the one-act play could not be an art-form offering special characteristics and obeying its own laws.

Scientific analysis is again called upon when the author wants to show us the various forms the structure of the curve can assume. The test of "open" or of "closed" construction is applied to several plays, but not before the discussion of two aptly-chosen instances drawn from pictorial art has given the reader a full grasp of the method to be used and of its results.

The survey of the social conditions which fostered the development in the United States of the one-act play is given less importance, though most of the economic and social changes to which an increasing interest in artistic activities was then due are mentioned, if not fully discussed. The travelling companies of players, which used to bring popular plays to rural communities in the very heart of the Middle West had hardly ceased to visit small towns and villages when the advent of the motor-car brought the exchanges of social life within the reach of such sections of the population as had had hitherto very little intercourse with one another, save for practical purposes. The new mobility made possible by the motor-car made the isolation from all contact with a larger life a thing of the past. At the same time, economic prosperity and the rise to comparative affluence it meant for a large number of people, whether in urban or in rural districts, introduced into the national life an ampler amount of leisure. The obligation of finding uses for this new-found leisure, the impetus given by the "dramatic courses" offered by the Universities, the renewed importance accorded to cultural activities, all these were concurring to direct the attention of the educated classes — and especially of young people — not only towards the passive enjoyment to be derived from the adequate performance of a classic or of a modern play but also towards the keen satisfaction to be found in writing, producing or acting plays altogether different from those shown on the "commercial" stage by

professional actors. Besides such points, one or two more might have been added, among which the stirring of new ideas and aspirations out of which sprang the literary renaissance of 1914. Though this renaissance expressed itself first in poetry, (the *Spoon River Anthology* is generally recognized as its earliest manifestation) it was soon evident in every branch of literary activity. It had as a corollary the wakening of a new, or renewed, interest in the specific forms of American life. Main Street, which had hitherto seemed negligible, if not indeed contemptible, in so far as it represented an aspect of the civilisation of the age, was eagerly studied and was found to possess, together with many faults, a charm of its own, at least when interpreted by the poet or the novelist. Looking at themselves in the mirror literature held out to them, American small-town and village communities began to grow fully aware of their own significance as special and characteristic aspects of a larger whole. It inevitably followed that "scenes from the life of here and to-day" grew more and more numerous in the two favourite literary forms of the period, the novel and the one-act play. During this period the particular brilliancy of the one-act play may be ascribed, to a considerable extent, to the enthusiasm of the younger generation which readily saw in the "Little Theatre" movement, with the scope it offered to intelligent even if untrained enterprise, a means of broadening what it rather ambitiously called its culture and of sharing in artistic and social activities whose appeal was all the more alluring for being expressed in terms of the actual and of the present. Young men and women, whether college-trained or not, were then entering life after having received, thanks to years of increasing economic prosperity and the wider opportunities these had made possible, a better education than their parents had received in their youth. The "Little Theatre" afforded ample scope to the talents, energy and enthusiasm of all — and they were many — who were interested in things pertaining to the stage. Moreover, the rewards it offered were immediate and, as a matter of fact, the "Little Theatre" did in many cases give a first chance to budding playwrights or actors who, without its efficient help, would have had to wait for many years before getting the recognition their talents entitled them to. Now, in a period of economic depression, "Little Theatres" no longer flourish as they did before the bad times came: the youth of America faced with the insistent problem of getting a living has little time to spare for play-writing or for any other form of artistic enterprise. The "legitimate" theatre has resumed its sway and only in colleges and in a few favoured groups do one-act plays still enjoy a large measure of the popularity they enjoyed everywhere in the United States between 1910 and 1930.

This book deserves to be read for its penetrating analysis of the intimate structure of the one-act play and for its less thorough, but judicious survey of the social and economic conditions among which this art-form developed and rose for a time to the first rank in the estimation of the American public, by virtue of its intrinsic merits and of the enthusiasm of its supporters. A study of this kind appeals to the specialist rather than to the general reader. And the fact that it is meant for those who take a keen interest in the destinies of the theatre in the United States helps one to realise at a glance the changes that have taken place, in America and in Europe, regarding the appreciation granted to American dramatic writing since the last decades of the nineteenth century. Then, and even at a much later date, a history of American literature

could be written without making the slightest mention of the drama. It was as if plays had been plants that could not prosper on American soil or were bound to remain so stunted in their growth as not to be worth even a passing glance. To-day, the attention attracted by American plays, be they one-act plays or plays in one or more acts, at last atones for past neglect.

Lyon.

LÉONIE VILLARD <sup>1</sup>.

*Newspaper Headlines. A Study in Linguistic Method.* By HEINRICH STRAUMANN. Pp. 263. George Allen and Unwin Ltd. 1935. 10/— net.

In the late eighteenth century and during the first half of the nineteenth, linguistics was in the van of scientific movements, and was the first systematically to apply the comparative method. But it has rested on its laurels for a long time and remains very largely Victorian. Other scientific movements have since added new chapters to scientific method and our outlook has changed. Even history has to be re-written every generation or so. And so with linguistics.

This book is a sign of the times. In subject matter, studious objectivity, general outlook and method, this is definitely a twentieth century book.

There is nothing particularly unusual about headlines. The surprising thing is that emblazoned as it is across all our newspapers, no one has thought fit to examine it thoroughly in studious detachment. It takes a philosopher with a touch of genius to see the obvious as if he were looking at it for the first time in his life. It is therefore not surprising that so-called "elliptical" language has first been systematically studied in the bold letters of newspaper headlines. But quite similar forms of language are extremely common in everyday speech. "Busy all day" "Worked to death" "No time to think" "Good money wasted" "Just going" "Found it last night" etc., etc., ad libitum or nauseam as the case may be. Elliptical? Vulgar? Incomplete? Ungrammatical? Full of mistakes? Well, here is a grammar of all that.

Though he is dealing with a very common type of language with specific eye-appeal, often funny, often abused, Dr. Straumann never forgets the purpose of his work expressed in the sub-title. He is not on the look-out for jokes or for opportunities to pass grammatical, stylistic, or ethical judgements on the professional linguistic behaviour of sub-editors, or on the public they cater for. He does not indulge in facile criticism of the older grammarians and linguisticians in spite of the fact that their traditional technique was of little use to him in his linguistic enterprise.

Though the fields of every-day linguistic behaviour are open to everyone, scholars, apart from the needs of traditional language learning, have trodden them either erratically for specimens in the spirit of the collector, or just by way of a stroll. Dr. Straumann however has carried out a systematic survey of English Headlines. Finding it impossible to describe and classify his

<sup>1</sup> Professor Villard is the author of a book on *Le Théâtre Américain* (Paris, Boivin, 1929, 12 fr.); also of *Jane Austen, sa vie et son œuvre* (Paris, 1915), and of *La femme anglaise et son évolution au XIXe siècle, d'après le roman anglais* (Paris, 1920.). — Ed.

facts within the framework of the traditional categories of morphology, syntax, and semantics, he came to the same conclusions as those arrived at by the present reviewer — namely that in such cases *a priori* mental structures must be abandoned and research directed towards finding purely formal and positional characteristics of the facts themselves which, being differentiae, will serve as a means of description, and as criteria for a congruent classification. And secondly, beyond this technique of formal description, function or meaning can then be studied in context on sociological lines, unobscured by categories serving any other purpose.

Dr. Straumann makes very few assumptions — he does however take for granted that we can distinguish nominals, verbals, and particles. Yet for most of such categories formal and positional criteria can be given if words are associated with all their potential inflected and derivative forms, in what may be termed 'paradigm scatter' and 'formal scatter'. *Back* is a neutral. It may find a place in the scatter *back, back's, backs, backs'*, in which case, at the grammatical level of understanding, it is a 'countable', and can be preceded by *a, the, my*, and the *s*-form by *many* and *their*. In addition to the simple or common form, there are *s*-forms, apostrophe *s*-forms, *-ing*-forms, *d*-forms. There are *-ly, -er*, and *-est*-forms, and *wh*-particles, though there is no *whom* and no demonstrative *that*.

The words *sink, sank, sunk*, are termed variables, *lose, lost* semi-variables, *set, cut, spread*, invariables. The form *read* as it stands is a 'neutral', and in headlines is classified purely formally as an invariable, though as Dr. Straumann adds "in spoken language it would have to be regarded as a semi-variable".

Lastly there are typographical and punctuative forms such as the comma, dash, and hyphen.

In dealing with *of*-constructions Dr. Straumann compares uses in headlines with the divisions of the N.E.D., and though he finds many examples like 22 and 50 N.E.D., he gives evidence of specialisations of the uses of this and other analogous constructions in headlines. Also he finds the function of *and* incomparably wider in headlines than in other forms of English.

Analysis by form is followed by analysis by position, which is described by such terms as initial, intermediate, and final, pre-, post-, and inter-nominal or -verbal. The importance of position will be realised at once from the examples CAPTAIN RUSSELL — RUSSELL CAPTAIN or SUNK STEAMER — STEAMER SUNK. To classify these, Jespersen's categories of junction (*sunk steamer*) and nexus (*steamer sunk*), are made use of as practically convenient, but not invested with any special magic. It is refreshing to find that after due consideration Dr. Straumann decides against verbal or grammatical subordination and Jespersen's notion of a sort of verbal hierarchy of primaries, secondaries, and tertiaries.

Further characteristics of this pioneer method are best shown by examples. WANTS A TELESCOPE is a headline with 'a verbal *s*-form in initial position'. It will not be a surprise to those who know the English press, that there would appear to be a correlation between the sociological position of The Times and the absence from its columns of characteristic features of headlines common to most other papers. Headlines has a decided preference for the verbal *s*-form to the common form, and yet The Times never made use of it up to the year 1932, and then only in INNOCENT LOCKSMITH LENDS A HAND.

Now let us take a sort of 'key' headline in AUSTRALIANS SET TO WORK. Dr. Straumann says (p. 193) of this example, "apart from the fact that "work" in this position represents the type of the neutral par excellence, it is absolutely impossible to find out which function has to be ascribed to the invariable "set", without overstepping the limits of group analysis." That is without going further than formal, positional and grammatical analysis. Beyond this is the entirely different semantic analysis by considering the headline in its actual context of situation and general cultural background. The context is the news that a body of Australian troops have enlisted for service against the Boers. And general cultural background tells us that Australians are not the sort of troops that have especially to be told when to set to work. The complete description of many headlines is dependent on the situation in which they are given, and sometimes on the relevant parts of the cultural background of the newspaper and its public. For example even in the complete newspaper context, the *d*-form in FORGED ENGLISH BANK NOTES, could not be more narrowly defined than as a 'neutral *d*-form with ambivalent function.' MOTORIST REFUSED A LICENCE and GENERAL BOOTH ASKED TO GO, appear ambivalent at first sight, but by elimination in the context of experience, their function is clear.

Such a headline as THE REFORM, cannot be understood apart from complete contextualisation. Dr. Straumann successfully resists all temptations to apply terms which would efface the objectivity of his formal and positional criteria, and there would appear to be only one technical slip in their rigorous application throughout the whole book. In the headline THE LATEST (p. 241) the *-est* form does not appear in isolation but in final position preceded by *the*. It is to Dr. Straumann's credit that where fine classification is obviously impossible, he is content to leave vague things vague.

Other amusing examples might be added to those noticed by Dr. Straumann: BULLER'S KILLED of the Boer war, THE BRITISH PRESS BACK THE GERMANS of the Great War, and more recently STOLEN CHURCH SAFE, CHARM OF OLD SANDWICH, COUNCIL BLOWS OVER DONKEYS, FRANCE ORDERS TWO COMETS, EMPEROR OF ETHIOPIA AND ITALY, SIT WELL ON MODERN POETRY. In all these cases the function is quite clear by complete contextualisation, though the deliberate dissociation of the mere words at the grammatical level of understanding has an added humorous function.

In passing, Dr. Straumann notices the verbal *s*-form *weds* as almost exclusively belonging to the vocabulary of headlines. The need for briefness may be the reason why many unusual and archaic words are coming back in headlines; e.g., *foe*, *ban*, *haul*.

The bearings of this systematic survey on morphology, syntax, semantics and logic are not left to implication. Dr. Straumann devotes the 47 pages of chapter 2 to making it explicit by connecting it with the work of other scholars. Moreover it is quite clear that this sociological approach and formal and contextual technique can be applied to the study of other kinds of block-language such as the words and word-groups in book-titles, labels, signs, notices, captions, posters, telegraphese, diaries, programmes, catalogues, and even the dictionaries of the learned.

Nor is this all. Anyone familiar with Bart Kennedy, Joyce, Wyndham Lewis, Gertrude Stein, Dos Passos will realise that this block language is

a new form of language in literature for which orthodox grammar provides no measures except such as result in wholesale condemnation. This new language form is particularly advanced in English. It is true that there are signs of its development in Alfred Döblin's *Berlin Alexanderplatz* — but not independently of English influence. Translations of Gertrude Stein into French<sup>1</sup> are merely ridiculous or mean nothing at all. Though some French writers e.g., Coquetot, are making use of so-called "elliptical" forms.

The 27 pages of chapter three deal with the historical aspects of the subject from the first newspaper headline of September 2, 1622, in the *Weekly News*, which began TWO GREAT / BATAILES / VERY LATELY FOUGHT / etc., to the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars, the Indian Mutiny, the Boer War, and the Great War. War seems to have made headlines. In war-time people have something better to do than consider the proprieties of the written word. War is the end of such restraints and so we get something like the bold "ellipses" of everyday exclamations streaming across the pages of the respectable newspaper at the family breakfast table. The psychology of the headline is slightly neurotic.

During the first half of the nineteenth century the headline disappeared from English newspapers, and it was not until the Franco-German war that captions came into abundant use.

There is also a brief glance at the sociological and psychological implications of the study in the 12 pages of the first chapter, which "contextualises" the writer of the headline, the reader, public opinion and the different social classes, at the outset, so that though we cannot expect real guidance, we are warned of the subject, and in particular of the power, persuasion, and responsibility of the press.

Many people have been surprised that headlines, hitherto only laughed at, could form the subject of serious study by a scholar of University rank. It must be remembered that in work such as this, the scholar does not leave the cloister for the market place; he studies the market place and returns to the cloister to finish his work. Much more of this sort of work will have to be done, if we are ever to understand how language really works. It is all a matter of University convention. In conversation with the reviewer, Sir Denison Ross, Director of the London School of Oriental Studies, said he was not surprised that someone had made a book on headlines, and that for many years he had taken an almost serious linguistic interest in headlines, posters and advertisements. He also expressed some disappointment that Dr. Straumann had not dealt with what he called really bad headlines perpetrated by ignorant sub-editors. He quoted as examples SHOT FRENCH ACTRESS, and 500 FEARED DEAD, both of which did violence to English in the extension of the use of such forms as *shot* and *feared*. He also quoted two headlines which he condemned by contextual analysis: FAMOUS BOMBAY GRAIN MERCHANT KILLED, the case being one of suicide, and ROYAL ENGAGEMENT BROKEN, to which should have been added, OFF. The reviewer is also inclined to think that the higher general level of education nowadays demands a higher standard of taste and form in headlines and advertisements.

Finally, this is a book which every student of language should read. Every college library should have it, and every student who has linguistic material

1 See *Echanges* Déc. 1929.

to describe and classify should give the method here exemplified serious consideration.

As the reviewer is not only associated with the principles and methods here employed, but also personally with Dr. Straumann, he would like to quote an entirely impersonal review in the Times Literary Supplement of January 31, 1935, which describes Dr. Straumann as a pioneer, and his book as engrossing and probably epoch-making.

London.

J. R. FIRTH.

## Current Letters: New Series <sup>1</sup>

### 1. Fiction, Drama and Poetry

Compared with the two or three years immediately preceding, the year 1934 has been somewhat disappointing in the field of original creative literature. The really important works, in all branches, could probably be counted on the fingers of the two hands, yet a fair amount has been produced which, although not of outstanding merit, rises well above the mediocre, and is worth the attention of a student of English literature who would keep in touch with the main trends of the time. The novelists have been busy as usual, though of the vast number of the works of fiction that have appeared <sup>2</sup> only a few are really of any importance.

First I should put Richard Aldington's *Women Must Work* (Chatto & Windus, 7/6) which denounces in most scathing terms that pseudo-idealism of society which is at bottom but a disguise for brutality and sham. The plot is a simple one. The heroine, a certain Etta Morison, sets out as an idealist and a militant advocate of the rights of women; she tries to live an "emancipated" life, and shocks all her friends, but gradually she finds herself ranged against circumstances and social forces which are too much for her, so she gives up her ideals and determines to make some kind of a name for herself by becoming a successful business woman, an ambition which she achieves as an advertising agent. The story is well worked out. The characters (especially the central one) are naturally and convincingly drawn, with true psychological insight, while the style is as direct and unaffected as one could wish. In conception the book is typical of the spirit of the present age, a spirit of disillusion in all the ideals of a dozen years ago; in parts it assumes truly tragic and dramatic proportions, and if it is inclined to the cynical and pessimistic, that is not because its author has surrendered his own idealism. He has set out to make a novel which is true to life, and he realises that in a materialist society the idealist has a hard time of it. *Women Must Work* is one of the best books Mr. Aldington has produced.

Equally notable is *Shoulder the Sky* (Jarrolds, 7/6), by a young writer, Rupert Croft-Cooke. The book is not without its defects, but compared with

<sup>1</sup> For the original series see Vol. VIII (1926) and foll. of this journal.

<sup>2</sup> *The English Catalogue of Books* records 4,531 for the year, an increase of 442 on the previous year.

its other qualities they are not of great significance. A study of the unemployment question, it gives a picture of working-class life in a depressed area, with the disastrous effects of prolonged idleness on the lives and the homes of the workers. Lovers are separated and romance gives way to bitter disillusion and despair; homes are broken up, a constant struggle to make ends meet frays tempers and gives rise to domestic discord; all desire to live a decent, useful life is thwarted, and under the stress of poverty a sense of hopelessness sets in. The picture is indeed a dark one, but it is no exaggeration; nor is it altogether pessimistic. The characters are simple folk, but about many of them there is a sense of true heroism. In fact, the two greatest of Mr. Croft-Cooke's achievements in this book are his creation of atmosphere, or impression, and his very human character portrayal. Dick Neill, the hero, quite out of place in the environment in which he finds himself, is a masterly creation, drawn with sympathy and understanding, which marks out Mr. Cooke not only as a writer who has mastered the technical side of the novelist's art, but one possessed of acute psychological insight.

Storm Jameson's *Company Parade* (Cassel, 7/6) is another of these novels with a purpose, equally cynical and motivated by a similar idealism, though it has not quite the strength nor the dramatic intensity of Mr. Croft-Cooke's work, and this, perhaps, because the satire and social philosophy are fitted into a conventional framework, which makes the picture rather less convincing. The background is a love-story; the theme, the depressing atmosphere of post-war life in a great city, where all fine-sounding ideals of social regeneration are soon forgotten and everyone is engaged in a struggle to live at the expense of everyone else. It is Granville Barker and Galsworthy brought up to date and carried over from the drama into the novel. As a discerning student of humanity and its social problems Miss Jameson has already won definite recognition, and the present work falls no whit below her others. Her *forte* is subtle characterisation. Though a book such as this must necessarily deal in types, they are not *mere* types — her parasites, such as war-mongers and captains of industry, have all a humanity of their own, each individual amongst them being carefully differentiated from the others; but there is also a composite character — hence the title.

One is reminded once again of Mr. Granville Barker — this time *The Voysey Inheritance* — in Phyllis Bentley's *A Modern Tragedy* (Gollancz, 8/6), where we follow out the story of a respected, influential business man and a successful company promoter, whose very success is built upon fraudulent dealing and swindling. Leonard Tasker, an ambitious youth born in the slums of a large town, turns his native talent to unscrupulous ends, and by ruthlessly fighting his way through life and using others to serve his own purposes, becomes a wealthy woollen manufacturer in the West Riding of Yorkshire; but finally his misdealings recoil upon him. This kind of story has a topical interest at the present day — in England, at all events — and it may be to this fact that the novel has owed its success. In quality it falls considerably below Miss Bentley's other works. The characters are unconvincing and lacking in strength, the sentimentality which makes Tasker's accomplice, Walter Haigh, repent of his part in the crimes at the last moment, savours overmuch of the popular novel, while we can hardly believe that a person of Tasker's character, when once he had made good his escape from justice, would piously decide to return and face the consequences of his actions. That is not how things usually happen in real life.

After a surfeit of these novels with a purpose, it is with relief that one turns to A. G. Street's *The Endless Furrow* (Faber & Faber, 7/6). Here the atmosphere is entirely different, and, one ventures to think, more true to life. Perhaps the book can scarcely be called a novel, if it is judged by the standards of most modern works of fiction, for the actual story, which stretches over fifty years and moves along fairly leisurely, is the least important part of it, serving merely as the apparatus by which the author brings together a number of country folk in their native environment, and so creates for us a most felicitous picture of the character, occupations, interests and atmosphere of rural England. Mr. Street knows his people: old Nicholas Crawford, the village grocer, steeped in worldly wisdom, is an excellent piece of characterisation. I should be inclined to put this book into the same category with Siegfried Sassoon's *Memoirs of a Foxhunting Man*. In the little Wiltshire village of Bowercombe life goes on contentedly from day to day, undisturbed by the noises of the great world outside. The highest of their aspirations is to become an influential proprietor-farmer, like the hero, James Horton, who worked his way up from a simple grocer's apprentice, for Bowercombe is a self-centred community, and on the whole is content with what life gives it. Changes there are, but they come slowly. There is a sense of eternity and serenity about Mr. Street's picture of the country — the eternity and serenity of Nature herself; and the conclusion of the book, where old Horton, grief-stricken by the loss of his son, proudly vows to devote himself to his land, strikes a magnificently heroic note.

Amongst other novels of 1934 which are worth the attention of the student of modern literature, may be mentioned Thomas Bell's *Striker Godown* (Eyre and Spottiswoode, 7/6) and Susan Miles' *Blind Men Crossing a Bridge* (Constable, 10/—). Though pleasantly written and certainly entertaining, Mr. Bell's work can hardly be called serious in tone, though one does detect beneath the strong flavour of romance something of a mildly satiric tendency. A young man who sets out to seek adventure in the world, chases his wraith through sea-faring life, factory life and the care-free, romantic existence of the tramp, to settle down finally with the lady of his choice. Too late he finds that his idyllic match turns out a most unsuitable one; he talks art and poetry, while his spouse, of a much more practical temperament, dozes off to sleep. *Blind Men Crossing a Bridge*, on the other hand, is stronger meat. To begin with, it is longer than the average modern novel — it runs to no less than 250,000 words — and is by no means reading for leisure moments. It opens with a love affair between a somewhat highly strung young writer and the daughter of a village carrier; the man commits suicide, leaving her in a state of pregnancy, and when twins are born to her she also dies. In the rest of the book we trace out the history of these two tragic and ill-starred children; the boy is killed in the war and the girl marries a fanatic, half-mad priest. The story is a melancholy one, but on the technical and artistic side the novel has decided merits. Only gradually, as we proceed through the book, are we in a position to piece together the antecedents of the plot and the relations of the characters; the story is told with perfect naturalness, and the picture of the heroic, though rather pathetic, struggle of the human soul against overwhelming odds is drawn with feeling, devoid of sentimentality. As for the qualities of Miss Miles' prose, dialect and archaisms may sometimes annoy the reader, but usually he will feel that there is strength and grandeur in it,

quite in keeping with the subject, while occasionally it assumes dimensions almost poetic.

To those who like studies and analyses of strange psychological states J. D. Beresford's *Peckover* (Heinemann, 7/6) and Frank Swinnerton's *Elizabeth* (Hutchinson, 7/6) may be recommended; to those who prefer something lighter and in the humorous vein, *The Provincial Lady in America*, (Macmillan, 7/6) where Miss E. M. Delafield, herself the provincial lady, gives her impressions of American life as she saw it on a recent visit to that country. A. J. A. Symons has written a biographical novel, founded on the life of the eccentric Baron Corvo in *The Desire and Pursuit of the Whole* (Cassell, 10/6), while George Cronyn's *The Fool of Venus* (Jonathan Cape, 8/6) is a historical tale of the twelfth century, centring around the famous troubadour, Peire Vidal. It is very long and very intricate, and the historical background (that of the fourth Crusade) is sketched in with scholarly accuracy, for Mr. Cronyn is steeped in the history of the time, down to its minutest details. The tale is full of incident and not devoid of humour, and though in places the style is on the heavy side, the action never lags in its movement. Nor is the plot a conventional one of chivalry, for the crusade which Scott so glorified is here shown as a war of greed and rapacity, while many of the knights are far from gallant. The scope of the book cannot be better indicated than by quoting one paragraph from Eric Linklater's introduction.

"As to the story itself, it is a large and handsome story, something like an ancient tapestry that has kept its bright colours: for there is a brisk procession of characters, all very gaily clad, and a stirring sequence of events. Vidal, the troubadour, is of heroic size, but he is not that unsympathetic kind of hero before whose blows, like water from a rock, success gushes at the first stroke: he is, on the contrary, an example of the inspired clown, far cousin to Samson, Quixote and Cyrano; and pursuing poetry, virtue and justice, he falls into all manner of misfortune and rallies his friends to reap the whirlwind. Beside him in the tapestry is a crowd of richly contrasted figures, but on the whole the actors are dwarfed by the events, and the book's most lasting effect is a tumultuous impression of the Fourth Crusade, culminating in a splendid picture of the taking of Constantinople. The tapestry is shaken as if by a great wind, the figures hurry to their doom, and the colours fade into the pale hues of destruction."

It is probably no exaggeration to say that Mr. R. H. Mottram has never risen quite to the same magnificent heights that he did in *The Spanish Farm*. *The Banquet* (Chatto & Windus, 7/6), a volume of short stories, is described by the publishers as a "book of many dishes"; but not all the dishes are equally palatable. There is a good story of the immortal Mr. Dormer, and *An Evening Off* tells in entertaining fashion how a well known writer and lecturer had the privilege of listening to, and walking out of, his own lecture, as one of the audience. But on the whole, one feels that the short story is not Mr. Mottram's forte. Some of the pieces included here would be more suited to a book of essays, while others give one the impression that they are abridged novels. This, of course, does not mean that they have no merit. A reader in a vein for lighter literature will find plenty in this book to satisfy him; but those who go to it with memories of the author's earlier work may be rather disappointed.

The dramatic output for 1934 has been singularly disappointing, for few

new plays of outstanding merit have made their appearance. The biographical play still continues popular, and seems the type to which most young dramatists now aspire; it has ousted almost completely the social problem play. John Davison's *The Brontës* (Frederick Muller, 3/6) and W. P. Lipscombe's *Clive of India* (Gollancz, 3/6) are perhaps two of the best examples. The biographical play is doubtless much more than a passing fashion; it is at once a symptom and an expression of a new attitude to life and letters on the part of the younger generation, an epitome of the spirit of the age; but at the same time there seems little doubt that a tremendous impetus was given to its development by the success of *The Barretts of Wimpole Street*. Few, however, of the successors to that play have managed to capture its essential qualities. Mr. Davison's *Shadows of Strife*, a tragi-comedy dealing with the repercussion of the general strike of 1926 in a Yorkshire mining village, was a meritorious first play, founded upon first-hand observation and experience; *The Brontës* falls far below it, precisely because the theme is one alien to the author's genius. The characters are not very definite, in places the dialogue is strained, and the attempt to recapture the spirit of the Brontës' age and environment is never quite successful. Some of these criticisms apply also to *Clive of India*. The central figure, it is true, is convincing enough, but the plot is loosely woven together, with the consequent loss of many dramatic qualities.

If, however, there has been a lack of new productions, several collections of recent plays have made their appearance. In *My Best Play* (Faber and Faber, 8/6), an omnibus book of 624 pages, eight modern playwrights have collaborated, each selecting what he himself considers the best play that he has written up to date. Clifford Bax is represented by *The Venetian*, Noel Coward by *Hay Fever*, Clemence Dane by *Granite*, and John van Druten by *After All*. Mr. Somerset Maugham has chosen *The Circle*, A. A. Milne *Success*, C. K. Munro *The Rumour* and Lennox Robinson *The Whiteheaded Boy*. A book such as this has a double value; it gives a representative selection of modern plays of divers types, while at the same time it affords a useful indication of a writer's likes and dislikes in his own works. Other useful collections are to be found in *Six Plays* (Heinemann, 7/6)<sup>3</sup> and *Famous Plays of 1934* (Gollancz, 7/6)<sup>4</sup>, while the one-act play, an increasingly popular type, is represented by *Eight One Act Plays of 1934* (Lovat Dickson, 3/6), *Fifty One Act Plays* (Gollancz, 8/6), and *One Act Plays of Today, Series VI* (Harrap, 3/6). In *Play Parade* (Heinemann, 8/6), Noel Coward has collected together seven of his best known plays (viz. *Cavalcade*, *Bitter Sweet*, *The Vortex*, *Hay Fever*, *Private Lives*, *Design For Living*, and *Post Mortem*) to form a representative selection from his work in the field of the theatre. In a brief preface he crosses swords with the critics, deprecating their constant search after some hidden motive in all that he writes, and declaring that his sole purpose is entertainment. Yet in spite of this we cannot help feeling that, perhaps unintentionally, there is more than this behind the plays. The pieces included in the present volume bear witness to the versatility of Mr. Coward's genius. *Post Mortem* is the most serious in tone, *Cavalcade* most comprehensive in scope, but all are, in effect, a protest against sentimentality, a Will-o'-the-Wisp of which Mr. Coward is always suspicious. Sparkling wit and

<sup>3</sup> *Design for Living*, *Wild Decembers*, *Dinner at Eight*, *Shoppes*, *Dangerous Corner*, *The Rats of Norway*.

<sup>4</sup> *Touchwood*, *Men in White*, *The Maitlands*, *Queen of Scots*, *Old Folks at Home*, *Family Affairs*.

paradox, much of it with a serious purpose, abounds in every one of these plays; and above all, every one shows that Mr. Coward possesses a true sense of the theatre.

By this time W. B. Yeats, one of the great motive forces in the Irish literary renaissance at the end of the last century, is a veteran playwright, and though he has done excellent work, one feels that the days of his best endeavour are past. More and more he drifts away from the sphere of true drama to that of symbolism. All the five plays contained in *Wheels and Butterflies* (Macmillan, 6/—), he tells us, have been played at the Abbey Theatre, Dublin, and one of them, *The Words upon the Window Pane*, has been revived several times, but one must confess that they seem strangely abstruse and insubstantial, and live by their poetic, musical and mimetic qualities rather than by anything really dramatic. Perhaps the most effective is that mentioned by title immediately above, in which a spiritualist medium conjures up the departed spirits of Swift and Stella; it is the most tangible of all the five, but even so it is hardly calculated for stage production. More recently the whole five of these pieces have been included in *The Plays of W. B. Yeats* (Macmillan, 15/—), where the chief of Mr. Yeats' dramatic productions from his earliest period to the present day have been collected together in a single volume.

Though a fellow-countryman of Mr. Yeats', and a product of that literary revival which centred around the Abbey Theatre, Sean O'Casey is a playwright of an entirely different type. His latest volume *Windfalls* (Macmillan, 7/6) is a medley of romantic, youthful poems, one-act comedies of a realistic kind, and rather grim short-stories of Irish peasant life. Compared with his more famous works like *Juno and the Paycock*, or *The Plough and the Stars*, these are mere trivialities, but they are nevertheless valuable for the light they throw upon his development as a writer. Here, in his early work, we see the genesis of all those qualities which were later to make him so moving and popular a writer — a latent idealism, and understanding of human nature, and a deep sense of pity for the oppressed and suffering. *A Walk with Eros* is a spirited condemnation of narrow prejudice and convention, while taken as a whole, the volume shows the triumph of human love over those political and religious feuds which kill all that is best and noblest in life. No collection of modern Irish literature is complete without it.

With John Masefield's *End and Beginning* (Heinemann, 3/6) we move away from the drama proper into the field of the poetic play. It would, indeed, be more correct to call it a dramatic poem, for the poetic qualities are more prominent than the dramatic. Centring around the last days of Mary Queen of Scots, its object is to reveal the beauty of character of the queen, and in this it is successful, though once again in a poetic rather than a dramatic sense. The central figure is the only one who really has a flesh and blood existence; the rest are anonymous, non-individualised characters. The real merit of the work lies in its dignified soliloquies and dialogue, and in the occasional lyrical passages.

Poetry has fared somewhat better than drama. Pride of place must be given to *The Collected Poems of W. B. Yeats* (Macmillan, 10/6), a beautifully produced book of about five hundred pages, containing all the verses published by Mr. Yeats from *The Wanderings of Oisín* (1889) to the little volume *The Winding Stairs*, which appeared at the end of 1933. There are no less than

three hundred poems, and at the end of the book the poet has added fifteen pages of explanatory notes. There is no need to dwell upon the qualities of Mr. Yeats' poetry; suffice it to say that here, in this single volume, we can trace out the development of his genius and the deepening of that intangible, mystical element which pervades all his works. In his later poems he pays a tribute to the writers of the eighteenth century, particularly Goldsmith, Berkeley, Swift and Burke, with whom he has come increasingly to feel that he has a close affinity; for in spite of its avowed rationalism, at the heart of the neo-classic age there was a mystical strain, and it is exactly that strain which Mr. Yeats himself has recaptured. The *Collected Poems*, together with the plays, should certainly find a place on the shelves of all students of contemporary literature. So also should *The Collected Poems of John Galsworthy* (Heinemann, 5/—). It is as a dramatist (and possibly as a novelist) that Galsworthy will go down to posterity, but the ninety odd pieces which are here assembled are ample testimony to his mastery of metre, atmosphere, and word-music. All are very brief, and written in the lyrical strain, and the prevailing qualities are those of the plays and novels — pity and sympathy, worship of beauty and truth, impatience with all shams. A certain spiritual quality, a sense of the ephemeral nature of life breathes through them all. "Man is a dreamer", declares Galsworthy, and it is exactly that dream-atmosphere of quiet and calm that hangs over this volume.

Dorothy Wellesley's *Poems of Ten Years* (Macmillan, 8/6) is a fair-sized book of 324 pages, which might have benefited from a little more scrupulous weeding out. No one could contend that Lady Wellesley was one of the major poets of today; many of the verses included in this book, nevertheless, are sufficient to show that we cannot overlook the contribution she has made to modern letters. Like Galsworthy, she is possessed of an acute sense of beauty. All her verses are simple in design, even as the subjects upon which she writes are simple, and a spirit of wonder is never absent. Excessive emotionalism she knows not, yet her mind is sensitive to colours and to sounds. Lady Wellesley has certain characteristics in common with W. H. Davies, whose collected *Poems* have been published by Jonathan Cape (7/6). Mr. Davies will probably always remain a favourite with the average reader of verse, who finds it difficult to appreciate many of the ultra-modernists. He has, before now, been compared with Herrick, and the comparison is an apt one, for about his verse there is that same simplicity and spontaneous joy in the good things of life, that same appreciation of natural loveliness characteristic of the author of *Hesperides*. The present volume contains 533 poems, representing all of his work that the author wishes to be remembered. The early poems express a love of beauty, especially natural beauty, and show a deep understanding of life and men. They are suffused by an atmosphere of serenity, and scarce a shadow ever clouds the horizon. Then comes the piece *The Dark Hour* (p. 98), heralding a change. After that the poet settles down to a calm pensiveness, while an ever-deepening note of seriousness is sounded, till finally, in the last few of his poems, we find him constantly reflecting over the mystery of life and the propinquity of death. So we pass from youth to age, with the inevitable transition.

After running through two impressions in a short period of time, Stephen Spender's *Poems* now appear in a second edition (Faber and Faber, 5/—), with a number of new pieces added. The volume is only a slender one of sixty-nine pages, but it deserves careful attention, for Mr. Spender is one

of the more restrained and level-headed of the modernist school of poets. His subjects are drawn from contemporary life — many of them from recent political events — and though in his technique he inclines to the impressionist and free-verse school, he has managed to steer clear of that obscurity which by some poets (and critics) today is taken for profundity. Brief though they are, his verses are full of thought and passion, and in the acute psychological analysis, as well as in the strength of versification of such pieces as that entitled *Van der Lubbe*, there is something Browningsque.

Besides these collected editions, two notable volumes of selections have also appeared, viz. *Selected Poems of D. H. Lawrence* (Martin Secker, 5/—), which comprises seventy poems chosen by Lawrence's friend, Richard Aldington, and *Selected Poems of T. Sturge-Moore* (Macmillan, 5/—). Mr. Sturge-Moore's poetry recently appeared in an imposing four volume edition, and in reviewing this Sir John Squire suggested that the poet's reputation would be materially assisted by a small selection of his best verses, which the uninitiated could go to as an introduction. This has been made by Mrs. Sturge-Moore, and in the space of two hundred pages we find all facets of the poet's skill and art represented — the energy, the calm, the finely chiselled phraseology, the scholarly, classical precision, the music and the peculiar wistfulness always associated with his verses. Those who do not know the work of Mr. Sturge-Moore would be well advised to start on this volume.

Herbert Palmer is by no means a new poet, for already he has published a "collected" edition of his works and has been included in one or two anthologies. His latest volume, *Summit and Chasm* (Dent, 5/—) contains some of the best things he has yet written. Mr. Palmer is avowedly a conservative in technique. "Poetry today", he writes in an introductory note, "is in a strange state of transition, experimental rather than creative, and if one wheel of it is well set, the other is running clean off the lines, so that it looks as likely to end on a slag-heap as on any wind-swept elevation. Though I am not entirely old-fashioned, I nevertheless seek to create for the speaking voice, to delight the listening ear, intensely realising as I do that the body and the soul of poetry should be one." The best of his verses communicate something beyond the immediate grasp of the senses, an impression of the magic and marvellous in the commonplace. With a hatred of hypocrisy, he is passionately enamoured of all that is fair and true, while about some of his verses there is an element of naïveté that gives him a kinship with the Middle Ages.

Wilfrid Gibson's *Fuel* (Macmillan, 4/6), on the other hand, falls below the level of his previous achievement, while Siegfried Sassoon's *The Road to Ruin* (Faber & Faber, 2/6), a series of six short poems denouncing war and war-mongers, is also a little disappointing. Of the author's sincerity there can be no doubt, but a certain note of bitterness, absent from his earlier poems, tends to mar the verses, and possibly because of this the style sometimes becomes prosaic.

Amongst anthologies two call for special mention. In *The Best Poems of 1934* (Jonathan Cape, 6/—) Thomas Moulton continues his annual survey and collection of English and American poetry. In the present volume about seventy authors are represented, each by a single poem gleaned from the periodical press of 1934. Some of the writers are already established, but many are new, and though of necessity the poems in a collection such as this

must vary considerably in scope and type, it can be safely affirmed that the general level of the verse is high, a most encouraging sign for the future of English poetry. The perusal of a volume of this kind is probably the best way of ascertaining the general trend and value of contemporary verse; this fact alone, irrespective of the quality of the work it contains, is sufficient to recommend Mr. Moults selection.

Maurice Wollman's anthology *Modern Poetry* (Macmillan, 6/—) gives a representative selection, chosen with taste and discrimination, from the poetry of the last twelve years. With one or two exceptions all the pieces included are of the lyrical type and complete in themselves, and always the criterion of admission or rejection has been not conformity with some pre-conceived theory, or exemplification of some literary tendency, but intrinsic worth, and merit. One misses familiar names like those of Sir William Watson and Hilaire Belloc, but that is because they have published little new verse since 1922. As it is, Mr. Wollman has collected together the work of over a hundred poets. It will be realised, then, that he has cast his net widely, and the result is a book which should stand for the next decade at least as the representative anthology of the verse of the post-war generation in this country. It is by far the best of its kind which has yet appeared.

Sheffield.

FREDERICK T. WOOD.

## Bibliography

### HISTORY OF LITERATURE, CRITICISM.

*Plagiarism and Imitation During The English Renaissance.* A Study in Critical Distinctions. By HAROLD OGDEN WHITE. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press. London: Milford. 10s. 6d.

*Spenser's Faerie Queene.* An Interpretation by JANET SPENS. 9 × 6, 144 pp. Edward Arnold. 8s. 6d. n.

*Sidney's Stella.* By JAMES M. PURCELL. 7¾ × 5¼, 122 pp. New York: Oxford University Press. London: Milford. 7s. n. [A review will appear.]

*The Life and Work of Henry Chettle.* By HAROLD JENKINS. 8¾ × 5¼, vii. + 276 pp. Sidgwick and Jackson. 1934. 2s. 6d. n. [A review will appear.]

*Thomas Lodge.* By E. A. TENNEY. (Cornell Studies in English, XXVI.) iv + 202 pp. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. London: Milford. 1935. 9/- net. [A review will appear.]

*An Index Compiled by Beatrice White to "The Elizabethan Stage" and "William Shakespeare: A Study of Facts and Problems" by Sir Edmund Chambers.* Oxford: Clarendon Press. London: Milford. 21s.

*The Real War of the Theaters.* Shakespeare's Fellows in Rivalry with the Admiral's Men, 1594-1603. Repertories, Devices, and Types. By R. B. SHARPE. (The Modern Language Association of America, Monograph Series, V.) viii. + 260 pp. Boston: Heath and Co. London: Milford. 1935. 11/6 net. [A review will appear.]

*Shakespeare and the Homilies.* And other Pieces of Research into the Elizabethan Drama. By ALFRED HART. 7½ × 5, 262 pp. Melbourne: University Press. London: Milford. 8s. 6d. n.

*A Printer of Shakespeare.* The Books and Times of William Jaggard. By EDWIN ELIOTT WILLOUGHBY. 9¼ × 6, xvi. + 304 pp. Philip Allan. 21s. n.

*Shakespeares Sonette in Deutschland.* Versuch einer literarischen Typologie. Von L. W. KAHN. 122 pp. Bern und Leipzig: Gotthelf Verlag. 1935. Fr. 6.—. [A review will appear.]

*London for Shakespeare Lovers.* By WILLIAM KENT.  $6\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$ , xii. + 180 pp. Methuen. 3s. 6d. n.

*Elizabethan Essays.* By T. S. ELIOT.  $7\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$ , 195 pp. (The Faber Library, No. 24.) Faber and Faber. 3s. 6d. n.

*The Metaphysical Poets.* Donne, Herbert, Vaughan, Traherne. By J. B. LEISHMAN.  $9 \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ , 232 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press. London: Milford. 10s. n. [See Review.]

*Four Metaphysical Poets.* Donne, Herbert, Vaughan, Crashaw. By JOAN BENNETT  $8 \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ , 135 pp. Cambridge University Press. 6s. n. [See review.]

*Zur Verfasserfrage des Dekkerschen Stückes "The Pleasant Comedy of Old Fortunatus."* Von H. THIEME. (Diss. Leipzig.) x + 56 pp. Dresden: Risse-Verlag. 1934. RM. 3.—. [A review will appear.]

*Sir William Davenant, Poet Venturer, 1606-1668.* By ALFRED HARBAGE. University of Philadelphia Press; London: Milford. 13s. 6d.

*The Early Career of Alexander Pope.* By GEORGE SHERBURN.  $9 \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ , 326 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press. London: Milford. 15s. n. [A review will appear.]

*The Letters of Jonathan Swift to Charles Ford.* Edited by DAVID NICHOL SMITH.  $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6$ , xlvii. + 260 pp. Clarendon Press. London: Milford. 15s. n. [A review will appear.]

*Jonathan Swift. Gedanken und Schriften über Religion und Kirche.* Von H. REIMERS. (Britannica, Heft 9.) 194 pp. Hamburg: Friederichsen, de Gruyter & Co. RM. 8.50.

*Sir Richard Steele.* By WILLARD CONNELLY.  $9 \times 6$ , 448 pp. Jonathan Cape. 15s. n.

*Doctor Johnson.* By S. C. ROBERTS. (Great Lives.) Duckworth. 2s.

*The Case of Christopher Smart.* By LAURENCE BINYON, C.H. The English Association. Pamphlet No. 60. Oxford: University Press. London: Milford. 2s.

*The Neo-Classic Theory of Tragedy in England During the Eighteenth Century.* By CLARENCE C. GREEN. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. London: Milford. 11s. 6d.

*Minuet. A Critical Survey of French and English Literary Ideas in the Eighteenth Century.* By F. C. GREEN. 489 pp. London: Dent & Sons. 1935. 15/— net. [A review will appear.]

*Literatur- und Kunstkritik in ihren Wechselbeziehungen.* Ein Beitrag zur englischen Aesthetik des 18. Jahrhunderts. Von K. L. F. THIELKE. (Studien zur englischen Philologie, LXXXIV.) 125 pp. Halle: Niemeyer. 1935. R.M. 4.80. [A review will appear.]

*The Monthly Review.* First Series. 1749-1789. Indexes of Contributors and Articles. By B. C. NANGLE. xvi + 256 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1934. 15s. n. [A review will appear.]

*Italy in English Literature 1755-1815.* Origins of the Romantic Interest in Italy. By R. MARSHALL. (Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature, no. 16.) xiii + 432 pp. New York: Columbia University Press. London: Milford. 1934. 17/6 net.

*The Early Days of Joel Barlow, a Connecticut Wit.* His Life and Works from 1754 to 1787. By T. A. ZUNDER. x + 320 pp. New Haven: Yale University Press. London: Milford. 1934. 9/— net. [A review will appear.]

*The Prestige of Schiller in England, 1788-1859.* By FREDERIC EWEN.  $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ , xiii. + 287 pp. (Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature.) New York: Columbia University Press.

*The Complete Works of William Hazlitt.* Edited by P. P. HOWE after the Edition of A. R. Waller and Arnold Glover. In Twenty-one Volumes.  $9 \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ . Vol. XX. Miscellaneous Writings. xi. + 448 pp. Vol. XXI. General Index, &c. xxvi. + 293 pp. Dent. £15 15s. n. the set of 21 volumes.

*The Halliford Edition of the Works of Thomas Love Peacock.* Edited by H. F. B. BRETT-SMITH and C. E. JONES. In 10 volumes,  $9 \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ . Vol. I. Biographical Introduction and Headlong Hall. ccxii. + 213 pp. Vol. VIII. Essays, Memoirs, Letters and Unfinished Novels. iv. + 550 pp. Constable, £9 9s. n. the set of 10 volumes.

*David Hume in Carlyle's Sartor Resartus.* By O. HOLMBERG. (K. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund Arsberättelse 1933-1934, V). 19 pp. (91-109). Lund: C. W. K. Gleerups Förlag. 1934.

*Early Victorian Novelists.* Essays in Revaluation. By DAVID CECIL.  $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ , 332 pp. Constable. 10s. n.

*The Sentimental Journey. A Life of Charles Dickens.* By HUGH KINGSMILL.  $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ , 217 pp. Wishart. 10s. 6d. n.

*Dickens.* By ANDRÉ MAUROIS. Translated by HAMISH MILES.  $8 \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ , x. + 183 pp. John Lane. 5s. n.

*Matthew Arnold and France. The Poet.* By I. E. SELLS. 282 pp. Cambridge University Press. 1935. 12/6 net. [A review will appear.]

*Newman en zijn Idea of a University.* Door P. SOBRY. vii + 207 pp. Louvain. 1934. Fr. 30.—. [A review will appear.]

*Die italienische Renaissance in dem englischen Geistesleben des 19. Jahrh., im besond. bei John Ruskin, John Addington Symonds und Vernon Lee.* Von E. M. BRÄM. gr. 8° pp. 100. Phil. Diss. Zürich 1933.

*Some Early Letters of Mark Pattison.* By FRANCIS CHARLES MONTAGUE. (Reprinted from the "Bulletin of the John Rylands Library," Vol. 18, No. 1, January, 1934.)  $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7$ , 21 pp. Manchester: University Press. 1s. 6d. n.

*Edgar Allan Poe, 1809-1849: A Critical Biography.* By UNA POPE-HENNESSY.  $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ , xii. + 343 pp. Macmillan. 10s. 6d. n.

*Poe and the Southern Literary Messenger.* By DAVID K. JACKSON. With a Foreword by J. H. WHITTY.  $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ , xiii. + 120 pp. Richmond, Virginia: Dietz Press. \$5.

*Walt Whitman in England.* By HAROLD BLODGETT.  $8\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ , ix. + 244 pp. (Cornell Studies in English. Volume XXIV.) New York: Cornell University Press. London: Milford. 11s. 6d. n.

*New Letters of James Russell Lowell.* Edited by M. A. DE WOLFE HOWE.  $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ , xvii. + 364 pp. Harpers. 15s. n.

*George Gissing and his Critic Frank Swinnerton.* By RUTH CAPERS MCKAY. A Thesis in English Literature presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.  $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ , 111 pp. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.

*Die Rolle der Antike bei George Gissing.* Von C. F. STADLER. gr. 8° pp. 74. Phil. Diss. Freiburg i. Br. 1933.

*Further Extracts from the Notebooks of Samuel Butler.* Chosen and Edited by A. T. BARTHOLOMEW.  $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5$ , 414 pp. Jonathan Cape. 7s. 6d. n.

*George Meredith and Thomas Love Peacock: A Study in Literary Influence.* By AUGUSTUS HENRY ABLE, 3RD. A Thesis in English presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Pennsylvania in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.  $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ , 140 pp. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.

*Das Verheimlichungs-, Hochzeits- und Briefmotiv in den Romanen Thomas Hardys.* Von H. GÜNTHER. gr. 8° pp. 119. Phil. Diss. Halle 1933.

*Thomas Hardy, seine Entwicklung als Romancier.* Von H. HILLER. 8° pp. 66. Phil. Diss. Tübingen 1933.

*George Moore.* By HUMBERT WOLFE. Revised Edition.  $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$ , xxiii. + 135 pp. (Modern Writers and Playwrights.) Thornton Butterworth. 4s. 6d. n.

*Die Romanteknik von William Dean Howells.* Von S. KÖNIGSBERGER. gr. 8° pp. 140. Phil. Diss. Berlin 1933.

*Collected Essays, Papers, &c., of Robert Bridges.* XI. Studies in Poetry. XII. Springs of Helicon. XIII. Wordsworth and Kipling. XIV. Word-Books. XV. Letter on English Prosody and Note on Neo-Miltonics.  $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ , xi. + 91 pp. Oxford: University Press. London: Milford. 2s. 6d. n.

*A. E. (George William Russell.) Dichtung und Mystik.* Versuch einer Deutung von A. E.'s mystischer Weltanschauung. Von H. HÖPFL. (Bonner Studien zur englischen Philologie, XXIII.) 77 pp. Bonn: Hanstein. 1935. RM. 3.—. [A review will appear.]

*William Butler Yeats.* By J. H. POLLOCK. (Noted Irish Lives.) Dublin: Talbot Press. London: Duckworth. 2s. 6d.

*Die Bedeutung des Abenteuers bei Compton Mackenzie.* Von A. HABERMANN. 8° pp. 63. Phil. Diss. Bonn 1933.

*James Joyce and The Making of Ulysses.* By FRANK BUDGEN.  $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ , 320 pp. Grayson and Grayson. 12s. 6d. n.

*W. H. Davies.* By THOMAS MOULT. (Modern Writers and Playwrights.)  $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ , ix. + 150 pp. Thornton Butterworth. 4s. 6d. n.

*D. H. Lawrence: Reminiscences and Correspondence.* By EARL and ACHSAH BREWSTER.  $9 \times 6$ , 319 pp. Martin Secker. 10s. 6d. n.

*John Galsworthy.* By HERMON OULD.  $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ , 244 pp. Chapman and Hall. 8s. 6d. n.

*Letters from John Galsworthy, 1900-1932.* Edited and with Introduction by EDWARD GARNETT.  $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ , 255 pp. Jonathan Cape, 7s. 6d. n.

*Tendencies of the Modern Novel.* By HUGH WALPOLE, HAMISH MILES, MILTON WALDMAN, JACOB WASSERMANN, V. S. PRITCHETT, D. S. MIRSKY, LUIGI PIRANDELLO, ERIK MESTERTON.  $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$ , 160 pp. Allen and Unwin. 3s. 6d. n.

*The Twentieth Century Novel. Studies in Technique.* By JOSEPH WARREN BEACH.  $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ , viii. + 569 pp. Appleton. 18s. n.

*Die Ich-Erzählung im englischen Roman.* Von H. ZELLER. gr. 8° pp. 99. Breslau, Priebatsch 1933. = Sprache und Kultur der germ. u. roman. Völker. A. Anglistische Reihe. Bd. 14. RM. 3.—.

*Der englische Kriegsroman. (Strukturprobleme).* Von H. WEYAND. gr. 8° pp. 82. Bonn, Hanstein 1933. = Bonner Studien z. engl. Philol. 18.

*The English Muse. A Sketch* by OLIVER ELTON.  $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ , xiv. + 464 pp. G. Bell. 16s. n.

*Modern English Poetry, 1882-1932.* By R. L. MÉGROZ.  $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ , ix. + 267 pp. Ivor Nicholson and Watson. 8s. 6d. n.

*Form in Modern Poetry.* By HERBERT READ.  $7\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ , xiii. + 81 pp. (Essays in Order, No. 11.) Sheed and Ward. 2s. 6d. n.

*Poetry: Its Music and Meaning.* By LASCELLES ABERCROMBIE.  $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ , 64 pp. Oxford: University Press. London: Milford. 2s. n.

*The Name and Nature of Poetry.* By A. E. HOUSMAN. The Leslie Stephen Lecture delivered at Cambridge May 9, 1933.  $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$ , 51 pp. Cambridge University Press. 2s. n.

*Romantic and Unromantic Poetry.* By HUMBERT WOLFE. Arthur Skemp Memorial Lecture, 1933.  $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ , 43 pp. For the University of Bristol. Bristol: J. W. Arrowsmith. 1s. 6d. n.

*The Medium of Poetry.* By JAMES SUTHERLAND.  $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$ , 168 pp. (Hogarth Lectures, Second Series, No. 1.) Hogarth Press. 3s. 6d. n.

*Poetry: Direct and Oblique.* By E. M. W. TILLYARD.  $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ , viii. + 286 pp. Chatto and Windus, 8s. 6d. n.

*Aspects of Modern Poetry.* By EDITH SITWELL.  $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ , 264 pp. Duckworth. 8s. 6d. n.

*The Trend of Modern Poetry.* By GEOFFREY BULLOUGH.  $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ , vii. + 181 pp. Oliver and Boyd. 5s. n.

*Critique of Poetry.* By MICHAEL ROBERTS.  $8 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ , 252 pp. Jonathan Cape. 7s. 6d. n.

*A Critique of Modern English Prosody. (1880-1930).* By PALLISTER BARKAS. 100 pp. Halle: Max Niemeyer. RM. 4.—. [A review will appear.]

*The Use of Poetry and The Use of Criticism. Studies in the Relation of Criticism to Poetry in England.* By T. S. ELIOT.  $9 \times 6$ , 156 pp. Faber and Faber. 7s. 6d. n.

*Oxford Lectures on Poetry.* By E. DE SELINCOURT.  $9 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ , 256 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press. London: Milford. 10s. n.

*Der Gedanke des kulturellen Fortschritts in der englischen Dichtung.* Von J. ROSTEUTSCHER. gr. 8° pp. 184. Breslau, Priebatsch 1933 = Sprache und Kultur d. germ. u. roman. Völker. A. Bd. 13. RM. 6.—.

*The Poet As Citizen, and other Papers.* By SIR ARTHUR QUILLER-COUCH.  $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6$ , viii. + 230 pp. Cambridge University Press. 9s. n.

*Cecil Sharp.* By A. H. FOX STRANGWAYS, in Collaboration with MAUD KARPELES.  $9 \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ , xii. + 233 pp. and 19 plates. Oxford: University Press. London: Milford. 7s. 6d. n.

*The Post-Victorians.* With an Introduction by the VERY REV. W. R. INGE.  $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ , xi. + 648 pp. Ivor Nicholson and Watson. 10s. 6d. n.

*Longinus and English Criticism.* By T. R. HENN.  $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$ , 163 pp. Cambridge University Press. 6s. n.

*Men Without Art.* By WYNDHAM LEWIS.  $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ , 304 pp. Cassell. 10s. 6d. n.

*Middleton Murry: A Study in Excellent Normality.* By RAYNER HEPPENSTALL.  $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ , 175 pp. Jonathan Cape. 5s. n.

*The Critical Ideas of T. S. Eliot.* By A. ORAS. 118 pp. Tartu/Dorpat: Krüger. 1932. Price ? [See Review, Dec. 1934.]

*Discovering Poetry.* By ELIZABETH DREW.  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ , 224 pp. Oxford: University Press. London: Milford. 8s. 6d. n.

*The Issue in Literary Criticism.* By MYRON F. BRIGHTFIELD.  $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ , xiii. + 316 pp. Berkeley, California: University of California Press. London: Cambridge University Press. 22s. n.

*A Psychological Approach to Literary Criticism.* By NORMAN R. F. MAIER and H. WILLARD RENINGER.  $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ , xii. + 154 pp. Appleton. 8s. 6d. n.

*The Northern Element in English Literature.* By SIR WILLIAM CRAIGIE.  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ , 135 pp. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. \$1.50. [See Review.]

*Children's Books in England. Five Centuries of Social Life.* By F. J. HARVEY DARTON.  $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ , xii. + 359 pp. Cambridge University Press. 15s. n.

*A "Punch" Anthology.* Compiled by GUY BOAS.  $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5$ , xii. + 276 pp. Macmillan. 6s. n.

*All Trivia. Trivia, More Trivia, Afterthoughts, Last Words.* By LOGAN PEARSALL SMITH.  $8 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ , xiv. + 175 pp. (Crown Constables.) Constable. 5s. n.

*The School in English and German fiction.* Von W. C. R. HICKS. 8° pp. 138. Phil. Diss. Erlangen 1932.

*Die Alpen in der englischen Literatur und Kunst.* Von R. SPINDLER. (Beiträge zur englischen Philologie, herausg. von Max Förster, Heft XXI.) Mit 8 Abbildungen im Text. 31 pp. Leipzig, Tauchnitz, 1932. Geh. RM. 2.—. [A review will appear.]

*Animal Lore in English Literature.* By P. ANSELL ROBIN.  $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ , xi. + 196 pp. John Murray. 10s. 6d. n.

*John Henry: a Folk-lore Study.* By L. W. CHAPPELL. 144 pp. Jena, Frommansche Verlag (Walter Biedermann), 1933. RM. 6.—. [A review will appear.]

*George Saintsbury.* By A. BLYTH WEBSTER.  $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ , 47 pp. Reprinted from the University of Edinburgh Journal. Autumn, 1933. Oliver and Boyd. 2s. 6d. n.

*George Edward Bateman Saintsbury, 1845-1933.* By OLIVER ELTON.  $10\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$ , 22 pp. From the Proceedings of the British Academy, Vol. XIX. Oxford: University Press. London: Milford. 1s. 6d. n.

*What Me Befell. The Reminiscences of J. J. JUSSELAND.*  $9 \times 6$ , xi. + 360 pp. Constable. 15s. n.

*The Cambridge History of American Literature.* Edited by WILLIAM PETERFIELD TRENT, JOHN ERSKINE, STUART P. SHERMAN, CARL VAN DOREN. Cheap Edition. In Three Volumes.  $9 \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ . Vol. I.: Colonial and Revolutionary Literature. Early National Literature: Part I. xvii. + 380 pp. Vol. II.: Early National Literature: Part II. Later National Literature: Part I. x. + 430 pp. Vol. III.: Later National Literature: Parts II. and III. xiii. + 678 pp. Cambridge University Press. 6s. n. each volume.

*The Great Tradition. An Interpretation of American Literature since the Civil War.* By GRANVILLE HICKS.  $8\frac{3}{4} \times 6$ , x. + 317 pp. Macmillan Co. 10s. 6d. n.

*Das Amerikanische Kurzschauspiel zwischen 1910 und 1930.* Von G. L. PLESSOW. (Studien zur englischen Philologie, herausg. von L. Morsbach und H. Hecht. LXXXIII.) vii. + 269 pp. Halle a./S.: Niemeyer, 1933. RM. 10.—. [See Review.]

*Neuengland in der erzählenden Literatur Amerikas.* Von H. WIDENMANN. (Studien zur englischen Philologie, LXXXVI.) xiv + 128 pp. Halle: Niemeyer. 1935. RM. 5.00. [A review will appear.]

*Amerikanergestalten in der englischen Literatur der Gegenwart.* Von R. GAUGER. 8° pp. 141. Phil. Diss. Tübingen 1933.

*The Challenge of Humanism. An Essay in Comparative Criticism.* By LOUIS J. A. MERCIER.  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ , vi. + 288 pp. Oxford: University Press. London: Milford. 10s. 6d. n.

*Das England von Heute. Kulturprobleme, Denkformen, Schrifttum.* Von B. FEHR. 8° 99 pp. Leipzig: Tauchnitz 1932. = Hefte zur Englandkunde, H. 7. RM. 2.50.

*The Study of Drama.* By HARLEY GRANVILLE-BARKER. A Lecture given at Cambridge on August 2, 1934, with notes subsequently add l. Cambridge Miscellany, XVI. 6¾ × 4¼, 93 pp. Cambridge University Press. 3s. 6d. n.

*Modern Poetic Drama.* By PRISCILLA THOULESS. 204 pp. Oxford: Blackwell. 15s. n.

*Modern Prose Style.* By BONAMY DOBRÉE. 7¾ × 5¼, 252 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press. London: Milford. 6s. n.

*Wild Flowers in Literature.* By VERNON RENDALL. 8¾ × 6, 372 pp. Scholartis Press. 12s. 6d. n.

*A History of English Literature.* The Middle Ages and the Renaissance (650-1660). By EMILE LEGOUIS. Translated from the French by HELEN DOUGLAS IRVINE. Modern Times (1660-1932). By LOUIS CAZAMIAN. Translated from the French by W. D. MACINNES and the Author. Revised Edition. 7¾ × 5¼, xxii. + 1434 pp. Dent. 10s. 6d. n.

*A Short History of English Literature.* By E. LEGOUIS. Translated by V. F. BOYSON and J. COULSON. xvi + 404 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1934. 6/- net.

*Essays and Studies.* By Members of the English Association. Vol. XVIII. Collected by HUGH WALPOLE. 8¾ × 5¾, 159 pp. Vol. XIX. Collected by D. NICHOL SMITH. 8¾ × 5¾, 160 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press. London: Milford. 7s. 6d. n. each volume. [A review will appear.]

*Sir Israel Gollancz, 1863-1930.* By F. G. KENYON. 10½ × 6¾, 17 pp. From the Proceedings of the British Academy. Vol. XVI. Oxford: University Press. London: Milford. 1s. n.

*Charles Harold Herford, 1853-1931.* By J. G. ROBERTSON. 10¼ × 6½, 15 pp. From the Proceedings of the British Academy, Vol. XVII. Oxford University Press. London: Milford. 1s. n.

*Essays by Divers Hands.* Being the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom. New Series. Vol. XII. Edited by R. W. MACAN. 8¾ × 5¾, xix. + 162 pp. Oxford: University Press. London: Milford. 7s. n.

*Studies in English* by Members of the English Seminar of the Charles University, Prague. Fourth Volume. 9¾ × 6½, 172 pp. Prague: Caroline University. [See Notes and News, Oct. 1934.]

*Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature.* Vol. XIV. 349 pp. Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: Milford, 1932. 13/- net.

Contents include: C. J. FURNESS, Walt Whitman's estimate of Shakespeare. — J. A. S. McPECK, Shakspeare and the fraternity of unthrifts. — G. LOOMIS, The growth of the Saint Edmund legend. — H. M. SMYER, *The Taill of Rauf Coilyear* and its sources. — C. L. JOHNSON, Three notes on Longfellow. — B. J. WHITING, The nature of the proverb.

*Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature.* Vol. XV. Edited by G. H. MAYNADIER, RICHMOND LAURIN HAWKINS and ARTHUR BURKHARD. 9 × 5¾, 370 pp. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. London: Milford. 10s. 6d. n.

*Essays and Studies in English and Comparative Literature.* By Members of the English Department of the University of Michigan. (University of Michigan Publications, Language and Literature, Vol. X.) 278 pp. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1933. \$2.50.

Contents: O. J. CAMPBELL and P. MUESCHKE, Wordsworth's aesthetic development, 1795-1802. — N. E. NELSON, Cicero's *De Officiis* in Christian Thought: 300-1300. — H. T. PRICE, Another shorthand Sermon. — K. LITZENBERG, The social philosophy of William Morris and the Doom of the Gods. — W. G. RICE, Early English travellers to Greece and the Levant. — H. WHITEHALL, Thomas Shadwell and the Lancashire dialect.

*Essays in Criticism.* Second Series. By Members of the Department of English, University of California. (University of California Publications, Vol. IV.) pp. 1-270. Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press. 1934. Price ?.

Contents: G. R. POTTER, John Donne's Discovery of himself. — J. M. CLINE, The poetry of the mind. — M. Y. HUGHES, Kidnapping Donne. — W. H. DURHAM, Pope as Poet. — C. W. WELLS, The poesy of fiction. — B. H. BRONSON, The willing suspension of disbelief. — R. P. UTTER, "Wise enough to play the fool." — W. FARNHAM, Tragic prodigality of life. — H. BRUCE, Beneath the surface, 1800-1815. — M. F. BRIGHTFIELD, Leigh Hunt — American. — J. S. P. TATLOCK, St. Amphibalus.

## New Methods for the Study of Literature

There is probably no province of science, or indeed of organized human activity in general, that does not at times become a scene of violent disagreement, of quarrels and disputes. It is in the nature of things, and fortunately most of the altercations are as salutary as they are inevitable because they promote rather than hamper progress.

Literary historians too have by repeated "shocks of opinion" always taken proper care to provide truth with opportunities to emerge. They have not only fought against enemies from abroad, against critics and æsthetes, but very spiritedly among themselves. But these internal dissensions, however fierce they might sometimes be, always retained a more or less innocent character. They did not menace the authority of literary history or impugn its right of existence. Of late years, however, disturbances have arisen of a much more dangerous, a truly revolutionary nature, and several historians now seem to be in league with those foreign enemies that call the value of the historical method in question.

In the last decades of the 19th century attempts were made to "bring the treatment of literature into the circle of the inductive sciences." High hopes were entertained of an application to literature of the methods that had produced such astonishing results in the domains of natural science, and many scholars began to work in this direction, mostly confining themselves for the present to what they deemed the necessary preliminary labour: the collecting and docketing of a vast number of data. Almost from the first there were those who looked with serious misgivings on this scientific tendency, among others Prof. Lanson who as early as 1894 warned his colleagues and students against it, calling it "une funeste superstition." In the "Avant-Propos" to his *Histoire de la Littérature française* — which is still one of the best and sanest expositions of the aims of literary history that I know — he quotes with the strongest disapproval a remark of the youthful Renan: "L'étude de la littérature est destinée à remplacer en grande partie la lecture directe des œuvres de l'esprit humain," and adds: "Si la lecture des textes originaux n'est pas l'illustration perpétuelle et le but dernier de l'histoire littéraire celle-ci ne procure plus qu'une connaissance stérile et sans valeur." He puts up a fierce resistance against those who esteem nothing but positive knowledge: "la littérature n'est pas objet de savoir: elle est exercice, goût, plaisir. On ne la *sait* pas, on ne l'*apprend* pas: on la pratique, on la cultive, on l'aime." And at a later date resuming the attack on the literary scientists he again comes to the conclusion that: "Toutes les méthodes des sciences transportées chez nous ne peuvent rien donner."

Since the publication of Lanson's *Avant-Propos* the reaction against the scientific method has gone much further, or rather the dissatisfaction has extended itself, several attacks having been made on the historical study of literature whether it called itself scientific or not. In the first two decades of the 20th century we repeatedly hear grave doubts expressed as to the advisability of going on in the old time-honoured way, doubts whether the immense labour spent on the accumulation of "facts" and ever more facts,

on the study of "schools" and currents, of sources, influences, affinities etc., had after all led to any really valuable results. The words of these critics were not much attended to, but that the discontent had grown, became evident, when in 1926 Prof. Spingarn published in the *Romanic Review* a criticism of a French thesis, in which he reproached the author with having merely collected, and arranged in chronological order, a great multitude of facts, without drawing conclusions from them or using them to prove a hypothesis, so that he considered the work spent on the book as profitless; it had yielded no tangible result. And he availed himself of the opportunity of warning others against this sort of work, the thesis reviewed being only one example among a great many similar productions. The article made a great stir, it was immediately answered and a debate ensued protracted during several years, and which ultimately led to a discussion of problems far more important than the question originally at issue.

Meanwhile there had appeared in America several books and articles attacking the old historical method, such as the little volume *Procrustes* by T. H. Morgan (1927), in which the author says that the university departments of literature are already well on the road to decadence, and the more important book of Prof. Foerster: *The American Scholar* (1929). And not only in America, but in almost all European countries the necessity of reform began to be urged with ever greater insistence, among many others by the Rumanian Professor Dragomirescu — who wants us to study only the masterpieces of literature —; by the Russian "formalist school," Peritz, Ossip, Vinogradov and others who hold that the history of literature is the history of different forms of technique; in Italy by Croce, in France by Bernard Faÿ, in Germany by Cysark etc. Specially significant was the renunciation of Prof. Farinelli, who after devoting a life-time to historical research and acquiring the well-deserved reputation of being one of the greatest authorities not only on Italian, but on Spanish and German literature, gave expression to his doubt as to the value of the historical method, and confessed that it now seemed to him that what his studies had revealed was not the essential, that it was better to seek to know the individual soul of the artist. "L'ambiance, la tradition, les écoles, l'imitation, tout ce qui nous frappe et que nous chérissons, tout cela ne touche pas à l'essence de l'esprit..." "Qu'on me permette... de confesser la confiance de jour en jour moins grande en moi pour la rigueur systématique que l'on emploie dans ces études..." "Je préfère les historiens des individus aux historiens des modes et des bizarreries collectives..."<sup>1</sup>

This remarkable and nobly honest confession of one of the most famous of modern scholars voices the doubt and dissatisfaction felt by many at the present time. Philippe van Tieghem has given us an excellent survey of the new conceptions of literary study in his little book *Tendances nouvelles en histoire littéraire*,<sup>2</sup> to which he has added a short exposition of his own personal views which are very interesting and hardly less heretical than those of others, which he has passed in review.

It goes without saying that the historical method also found its defenders, among whom Prof. Greenlaw<sup>3</sup> stands out as perhaps the ablest and broadest-minded. Others tried to unite the two views, pleading for a collaboration

<sup>1</sup> Mélanges Baldensperger, 1930.

<sup>2</sup> Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres," Paris, 1930.

<sup>3</sup> *The Province of Literary History*, Baltimore, 1931. (See review *E.S.* XV (1933) 70-71.)

between æsthetic criticism and literary history, as e.g. René Bray, but the opposite tendency seems more strongly marked; time and again the necessity of an absolute separation has been advocated, as e.g. by Werner Mahrholz <sup>4</sup>.

How strong and general the discontent with the historical method of study had become, appeared once more at the First International Congress of Literary History, held at Buda-Pest in 1931, for which very appropriately "*Les Méthodes de l'Histoire littéraire*" had been chosen as the subject for discussion, and which could hardly have been held at a more opportune moment.

In his opening address Prof. Baldensperger said that the study of literature is at present passing through a real crisis. And nearly all the lectures subsequently delivered at the Congress directly or indirectly corroborated this opinion. The proceedings <sup>5</sup> form very interesting reading; the great majority of the speakers have made the most of the brief time that could be allotted to each, and have clearly and courageously stated their opinions. We find in this volume a multitude of new ideas, some daringly heretical and revolutionary, all stimulating the reader to deeper reflection about the aim, the function and methods of literary history, and to a re-examination of his own cherished convictions. It gives a very good exposition of the problems that confront us in the study, and especially also in the teaching of literature, and it is to be hoped that the second Congress, which is to be held at Amsterdam this autumn, will prove equally successful, and that there will then also be delegates from England, Russia and America, countries that were not represented at Buda-Pest at all.

As we have seen the reaction against the so-called strictly scientific study of literature set in at a very early date, and the dissatisfaction with all the time-honoured methods, the doubt even of the use and value of the historical study of literature that we find expressed in several of the speeches delivered at Buda-Pest may be considered as the ultimate consequences of this reaction. As Lorentz Eckhoff observes it is only one of the manifestations of a vast and general movement, which is forging ahead in all domains of modern life. The analytical method was created in the spirit of naturalism, which it has survived. Its principle is submission to the object, trust in the small concrete and isolated fact, hostility against the spirit and the idea. And voicing the opinion of several of his colleagues he concludes that nothing less than a radical and complete change in literary studies has become necessary. Fortunately they have not confined themselves to stating the bankruptcy of the old "scientific" methods; it is not a mere grumbling protest that arises from the pages of the Bulletin. The revolutionaries among these eminent scholars from various countries have tried to point out new ways of study, and some have laid quite definite programmes before us, as they had already, or have since, done in articles and books. Of course they diverge in their opinions, various remedies are proposed. Yet there are certain tendencies observable that the interesting arguments have in common. They all prove, either directly or indirectly, that at present there exists among literary historians a stronger distrust of learning, coupled with a keener appreciation of æsthetic criticism than in any previous period. Knowledge and sagacity are considered utterly inadequate in themselves, and inferior to feeling, imagination and

---

<sup>4</sup> *Literargeschichte und Literaturwissenschaft*. Kröner, Leipzig, 1922. Re-edited by F. Schultz 1932.

<sup>5</sup> Les Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1932.

intuition; strong stress is laid on the necessity of starting from the work of art itself, or from modern contemporary work (Prof. B. Fay), and of considering it first and foremost as an individual entity, the study of influences, affinities, the historical background etc., being of quite secondary importance. It is urged upon the historian and upon the teacher of literature that it is an imperative duty to interpret and to estimate, not merely to describe; that they should give up all attempts at objectivity and boldly express their personal opinion and appreciation; it is said that to judge contemporary literature should be one of the great critical tests for men who insist on their right to speak as well of past epochs; that it is high time to stop the collecting of facts and data, an occupation which became a veritable mania in the 19th century, and which is still pursued by many. We have enough materials now to work upon for centuries to come, and moreover this kind of work is not only useless but harmful, because it only leads us further and further away from what is essential: the artistic, the psychological and "sentimental" value of the work of art itself. In brief: the modern movement in the science of literature is approaching more and more to the point of view of æsthetic criticism, and it also appears from some of the papers read at Buda-Pest, that historians are becoming more conscious of the complexity of art, and especially of the truth, often lost sight of, that, as Lascelles Abercrombie says, it is not "the mere existence of a piece of language that constitutes literary art" ... but that "art consists in the communication established between author and reader."

Of course there were at the Congress also opponents of the new ideas, sticklers for more or less orthodox methods, and also adherents of a third or "neutral" party, who seek to establish a synthesis between the divergent views. The secretary, Prof. Paul van Tieghem, has given us in his "Rapport Introductif" a survey of the various theories current in our days, — partly based on Philippe van Tieghem's *Tendances nouvelles en histoire littéraire* — a very clear and useful exposition, which alone would make the Bulletin a valuable possession.

Whatever one may think of the new revolutionary movement in the science of literature certain it is that it deserves close attention and that since the remarkable Congress of Buda-Pest it has still increased in strength. However violent the attacks made on the older methods may at times have been, it was almost always recognized that there was at least some use in the historical study of literature. It was relegated to the background, but the advocates of the new ideas seldom severed the connection between it and their own methods altogether. This has now been done quite definitely, among others by Prof. Etienne. In his *Défense de la Philologie* <sup>6</sup> — in which he attaches to the term "philology" a more comprehensive meaning than is usually done, a meaning which does not exclude æsthetic interpretation — he comes to the conclusion that "l'histoire littéraire doit rester une branche de l'Histoire" ... "(elle est) un hors d'œuvre" ... "utile mais pas à la connaissance de la littérature." Literary history can contribute nothing to the comprehension of an author's work, and neither can biography; it does not bring the works themselves any nearer to us, rather it gradually leads us away from them further and further. Prof. Etienne defends his extremist point of view very ably and spiritedly, and the exposition he has given of his own favourite method, which he has further exemplified in an article in the *Revue Belge*, is highly interesting.

<sup>6</sup> Librairie E. Droz, Paris, 1933.

And even the most obstinate opponent of the new ideas in the study of literature will have to acknowledge that heresies so excellently put forward and defended cannot without more ado be set aside, that they demand attention and serious attempts at refutation. Some of his views are diametrically opposed to those of the "realistic school" of interpretation, of which we have heard so much of late years, and he might find an opponent worthy of him in Prof. E. E. Stoll. Prof. Etienne's treatise is not meant as an attack on the theories of his American colleague, — it is even doubtful whether they know each other's work — yet there are passages in his *Défense* so curiously contrasted to Prof. Stoll's favourite principles as to read like direct rejoinders, as, e.g., in chapter IV: "La philologie opposée à la méthode historique":

"Je ne crois pas l'histoire utile à l'intelligence des œuvres littéraires, parce que l'œuvre littéraire que nous retenons est, par définition, celle qui n'a pas besoin d'être expliquée par l'histoire. ....

La Divine Comédie a pu être belle d'un bout à l'autre — et encore je n'en sais trop rien — pour un contemporain de Dante fort bien informé; pour moi, elle perd sa beauté aux endroits où il faut qu'on m'explique les allusions. Mais les "historiens" songent à une bien autre chose: ils veulent nous transporter dans l'époque de l'auteur. Eh bien, s'il y a des œuvres que leur ancienneté ou d'autres caractères rendent étrangères à nous et empêchent que nous les goûtions, s'il faut me faire l'âme d'un Italien du temps pour comprendre et goûter Dante, on ne trouvera pas mauvais que je n'entr'ouvre même pas son poème; et si je trouve un homme du XXe siècle qui a la prétention de s'être fait momentanément cette âme postiche, je lui dirai qu'il se vante.

Je m'interdis d'ailleurs des efforts historiques bien plus légers; il est possible que Lamartine ait écrit le Lac en pensant à Mme Charles; vous me demandez de lire le Lac en pensant à elle? Je m'en garde bien. Tout ce qu'on a écrit a été pièce de circonstance, je veux l'admettre; mais la littérature est l'ensemble des pièces de circonstance qui ont cessé de l'être, de celles dont le sens n'est plus déterminé par leur origine, autrement dit des œuvres qui ont résisté au temps en perdant leur caractère anecdotique et justement parce qu'elles l'ont perdu."

This surely is a passage well calculated in all its parts to make adherents of the realist school of historians shudder. In his Shakespeare studies Prof. Stoll has again and again urged upon us the desirability, or rather the absolute necessity of approaching a work of art in a quite different way. He wants us to do precisely what Etienne abhors and thinks useless or impossible: to transport ourselves into the Elizabethan period, to take the point of view of the "unlettered" audience — what other are we entitled to take?, he even asks — to make ourselves thoroughly acquainted with tradition and convention, with the work of other dramatists, contemporary and preceding, etc.

And so we are face to face with precepts in flat contradiction with each other, and at first sight it would seem that the student of literature should make a choice and decide which of the two he wants to follow. If this were asked of me I should not hesitate a moment and range myself on the side of Etienne. But I should then still be left with a feeling of regret, a sense of having had to give up much that is dear to me and that seems valuable and even indispensable. And fortunately it is not necessary to choose. There exists a third party that seeks to unite the two views, and it has a large following and many eminent adherents too, as also appeared at the Buda-Pest Congress. On some previous occasions I have already tried to defend the

point of view of this "neutral party," as Etienne calls it, and I will only add a few remarks here in connection with Stoll's favourite principles.

By far the most important of these is that in criticising or interpreting a work of art we must first and foremost think of the artist's intentions. There is nothing new in this, and Prof. Stoll does not pretend there is. On the contrary he is naturally eager to point out that it is a principle of criticism held by the most distinguished writers, that it was not only Pope's, but Aristotle's, not only Pater's, but Goethe's and Sainte Beuve's. And indeed since Manzoni it has been almost universally accepted, at least in theory. And it seems simple, obvious and quite reasonable that we should ask ourselves the question what was the author's intention, but difficulties arise as soon as we begin to consider how it has been or should be put into practice. The fact that writers so utterly different in character, in aim and ideals, as Pope and Pater may both be said to have adopted it, must already give us pause. The adaptation of this principle seems to commit us to very little or to nothing at all. It seems to leave room for a great, an almost endless variety of conceptions. The difficulty is that in applying it we cannot rely on outside information: authors are not in the habit of superadding an explanation of their intentions to their works. And if they were it would not help us much. We must always bear in mind that art consists in communication, in the case of literary art in communication between author and reader; also that every great work of art is a living entity, inexhaustible in its potentialities, possessing values independent of the maker's intentions, values too that may change, may grow in time and appeal differently to successive generations of readers. As a rule authors are not even conscious of any definite intentions, at all events they would hardly be able to formulate them clearly and directly. That is to say they could not do so in an aside, which would necessarily become only a sort of paraphrase or brief abstract of the work of art itself. For there, in their work, they have already expressed their intentions as clearly and completely as they possibly could. As Lascelles Abercrombie says: "the reason why a work of art exists at all is, that it was the only way in which its author could truly give us his intentions. What he may say of them elsewhere will surely be more or less than or beside the truth."

Prof. Stoll has studied Shakespeare's work very thoroughly, but he evidently thinks this patient and devoted attention to the works themselves by no means sufficient to discover the author's intentions. He does think it possible to divine them, but only by a close study of Elizabethan ideas and technique, by comparing the plays with those of Shakespeare's predecessors and contemporaries, by the study of sources and influences, of traditions and conventions, and constantly keeping in mind what it was that an Elizabethan audience demanded for its amusement. Now I am far from denying the value of this sort of research. Prof. Stoll's excellent handling of the method has yielded results that put us all under his obligation. Only I strongly protest against his contention that the view at which he arrives is the only one we are entitled to take. He has made many true and valuable observations and discoveries, but after all it is only a part of the truth that he reveals and by no means the most important part at that.

In his essay on *Hamlet* (1919), e.g., and again in his book: *Art and Artifice in Shakespeare* (1933), he comes to the conclusion, that this most discussed of all literary works is a typical Senecan revenge-play, that *Hamlet* was meant for an heroic, not a pathetic figure, and not one who falters or who deceives

himself, a simple character without mystery, the delay not lying in his own nature, but due to the exigencies and to the conventions of this sort of drama: no delay no play; that the "psychological, the morbid Hamlet, the realistic Hamlet so to speak, is exclusively the discovery or invention of the Romantic Age." In support of this view he cites contemporary allusions to the play and somewhat later criticisms, and triumphantly exclaims that for two hundred years no one realized that there was a riddle at all. And these our ancestors had the advantage of being so much nearer to Shakespeare's time than we are, and could consequently judge better of the real meaning of the play, and the "simple" intention of its technique. In Prof. Stoll's argumentation this reference to older critics is, it seems to me, the weakest prop. Are we really to put trust in the judgement of critics merely because of their nearness in time to the author and his work? Are we then to read Chaucer as he was read in the 15th and 16th centuries, to reject *Lycidas* as inferior because the venerable Samuel Johnson did so? Surely this is paying too much deference to antiquity and tradition. And Prof. Stoll himself does not go this length, he makes certain provisos. "We go a bit deeper than the 17th and 18th centuries, no one will deny, but" — he still repeats — "the 17th and 18th centuries are far nearer in time and spirit to Shakespeare and the people for whom he played and wrote." But the factor of time has not more or less significance, but none at all; there is no relation between the value of criticism and the date at which it was written, the whole history of literature is there to prove it. That the 17th and 18th centuries were nearer in spirit to Shakespeare is an assumption which cannot be accepted off-hand and which, it seems to me, is rather difficult to make good, when I remember how Shakespeare was treated in that period so much nearer to him than ours is, when well-meaning writers did their best to "improve" his work — to mention only one curious example of nearness in spirit. But then time is not the only factor, Prof. Stoll adds hopefully. The present Hamlet theory arose and was developed far away from every tradition and echo of the stage. It was only late in the 18th century when people had been alienated from the Senecan tradition that they began to ask irrelevant questions, and then age after age, philosophy after philosophy has taken the hero and made him her own. And up to our own time "romantic" critics looking to their own needs and purposes instead of to the dramatist's conception and purpose have "made the history of Hamlet criticism a blot on the intellectual record of the race." ... "And what the audience, not what critics, would think and feel, is, I must weary the reader with repeating, alone what Shakespeare had in mind and at heart." ... "The rest is silence", the critics ... put a world of meaning into the phrase that could never have been intended, because it could never have been understood. The words simply mean: I am a dead man, the rest must go untold." ... "To indicate a difference that the audience could not detect Shakespeare of course was not the man to have lifted a finger. He was not painting pictures that were never to be seen, nor shooting arrows into the air. He was writing plays which plain and common people were expected to like, and in order to like them, of course, must understand. How naturally — and how differently from us — they understood the play now in question (*Hamlet*) we have learned already."

As we see Prof. Stoll is very sure both of Shakespeare's intention and of the reactions of the audience. Another famous American scholar, the late Prof. Greenlaw, who also attached great value to the historical method of approach,

expressed himself in a more modest way on this point, when, speaking of the *Fairy Queen*, he said: "the poem must have been read by its contemporaries in a way that we can only dimly reconstruct." And I quite agree with what G. N. Clark says in the chapter on Literature of his excellent book: *The Seventeenth Century*: "Literature (is) the sensitive and perpetually varying apparatus by which the world of imagination is adjusted to the most complex and most personal requirements of the human soul. A few great masterpieces of seventeenth-century literature, though they have meant different things to different generations, have been continuously prized." ... "We often deceive ourselves when we suppose that we can read an old book as it was read by contemporaries." I think it behoves us to be sceptical in this matter.\* But let us for a moment assume that it has really been given to Prof. Stoll to probe the minds of the Elizabethans, and to prove beyond doubt that they considered and enjoyed *Hamlet* as a typical Senecan revenge-play with stock characters and conventional incidents, must we moderns necessarily try to look at the play as they did, to make their reactions our own, trying to laugh loudly, e.g., at jokes that have lost their point in the course of time? Are we not allowed to take another view, to enjoy the play in a different manner, to see something else or more in it than did the Elizabethan audience, or perhaps in some few cases even more than the author was fully conscious of when he was writing his work? These are fundamental questions, touching the function, the very essence not only of literature but of all art. I for one do not feel inclined to abandon the old popular notion that a great work of art may speak to every generation in its own way, even though this cannot always have been the artist's obvious and primary intention.

I have always derived æsthetic pleasure from the exquisite curves in the quays of the canal-streets in my native town. A very severe historian told me that these slightly winding deviations from the straight line were most probably due, not to design, but to mere carelessness and accident. I very much doubt whether this haphazard origin can be proved, but if so it will only be an interesting piece of information that will not affect my æsthetic satisfaction in the least. I have in my room a small Chinese bronze, which I value highly for its beautiful, decorative effect; my books inform me that it was not intended for a thing of beauty, but expressly consecrated to the solemn rites of sacrificial worship and used as such. No doubt these authoritative informants are right, and yet I do not change my views of the object in accordance with those of its original possessors or its maker, and I am not going to use it for sacrifice. A thing of beauty is a joy for ever, even though it makes a different appeal to different generations. And as to the intentions of the author the only trustworthy key to them is, as I said above, to be found in his work itself, and they are not simple and easily demonstrable, but invariably of a subtle, highly complex character. And in a really great work of art there can often be discovered, beyond the more obvious intentions, others of a quite different nature, which may have escaped the author's contemporaries or most of them. The renowned art-critic, the late Roger Fry has given a good example of this in a very interesting article<sup>7</sup> on the Dutch school of painting, in which he points out the double aspect of Dutch art that gives it its specific quality. "The circumstances," he says there, "in which it arose forced it to be a popular art in a new sense. It had to appeal to a public that was far less cultured and

<sup>7</sup> *The Burlington Magazine*, Febr. 1929.

less sophisticated than the patrons for whom the Italians and Flemings worked, a public that knew little or nothing of the traditional pictorial language." ... "And the first thing this public looked for was the elementary pleasure of recognizing likeness, of seeing an exact image of familiar things. ... The game of art, then, had to be played by these artists under rather special rules. Their work had first of all to conform to an exacting standard of verisimilitude, of minute accuracy and desperate fidelity to the more potent facts of visual experience. Now every one who has practised or studied art knows how constantly the facts that are most patent to the uneducated eye tend to interfere with these more general truths of appearance which afford the best material for æsthetic contemplation. What surprises one, therefore, is the extraordinary power these men showed in attaining freedom and ease of movement within these narrow confines and under this heavy handicap." Fry then shows that the best of these artists succeeded in spite of all this in expressing the subtlest æsthetic effects: "It is a strange feat that such artists performed, a feat with something prodigious and uncanny about it ... We find them so recondite in their methods, so elusive in their effects, they ask for such a patient and determined æsthetic apprehension in order to grasp the full significance of their designs, that one is tempted to imagine that they painted solely for the delectation of other artists. One almost fancies the artists carrying on a secret correspondence over the heads of the public who bought their pictures."

Something very similar to this strikes us in the case of Shakespeare. He too gave the public of his time exactly what it wanted, and has not he too succeeded in putting more into his work, infinitely more, and something that, as far as we can judge, may have eluded most of his contemporaries? Would there be an art-critic, I wonder, bold enough to declare of the great Dutch painters, of Vermeer or de Hoogh say, that "to indicate a difference the public could not detect they were of course not the men to have lifted a finger. They were not painting pictures that were never to be seen," and so on? If so, I think he would not stand an earthly chance to be taken seriously.

The root-cause of the trouble is that literature is but too often, consciously or unconsciously, considered as something different from what it essentially is: an art, like music and painting and sculpture.

In every great work of art time will gradually disclose more and more clearly a dual aspect, though, as in the case of Dante or Milton, it will often be a duality of a character different from the one referred to in the article of Roger Fry. And it is exactly the presence in the work of an element independent of the period in which it was created that makes it into a really great work of art. It sometimes remains entirely hidden to the artist's contemporaries, who may enjoy the work for topicalities that lose their interest for later generations; more often they will be but dimly aware, or at least not fully conscious of it. Art is communication, and every work requires a reader in perfect sympathy with it, subtly and keenly discerning, to bring out its full artistic significance. It may be that it meets with such a mind immediately, but more often it has to wait a considerable time before it finds an interpreter worthy of it, as Shelley's work, e.g., found in Francis Thompson. And a great work of art is inexhaustible in its appeal as nature itself. Whether the artist himself is always perfectly conscious of all the implications of his own work is a question that can hardly ever be determined satisfactorily. But in

the case of Shakespeare the odds of course are that he was, or at least to a very great extent. As Logan Pearsall Smith says in his delightful little book *On Reading Shakespeare*: "By a whole series of fine critical interpretations Shakespeare was proved to be, when he wished — and he did generally wish it, atrocious as he is at times — the most consummate of all artists, and an almost unimaginably subtle writer, cunning, like Cleopatra, 'past man's thought,' and anyone possessed with the notion that he who runs may read, will miss many of the most delicate touches of his art."

Now historians are as a rule not among those who run, but at times it seems as if some of them write elaborately with the express purpose of making us miss those delicate touches, as if they grudge us our æsthetic enjoyment, or, as Dover Wilson<sup>8</sup> says with some exaggeration of Prof. Stoll, endeavour to prove that great artists are not for all time but of an age.

They do so actuated, of course, by the noblest motives; they want to reveal the truth and nothing but the truth, full of compassion as they are for their erring brethren, who are so piteously deceiving themselves, when they think, for instance, that there is more in Shakespeare than met the ear of the average Elizabethan playgoer or was revealed by the 18th century critic who deplored Shakespeare's lack of art.

The realistic school gives a last solemn warning against "Hineininterpretierung," and it is no doubt true that æsthetes have sometimes sinned in this respect, and that the work of the "realists" forms a wholesome corrective; but in their anxiety to avoid the mistake of reading too much into a literary work, they read too little into it.

There is in a work of art always something, or rather much, that no historical study, however thorough, can possibly reveal. Historians have not always sufficiently recognized this, and especially in the last decades of the 19th century, when they were busy making their methods "strictly scientific" they often overlooked the essential nature of literature as an art altogether. They have attached far too much importance to the collecting and docketing of "facts," the demarcation of schools and periods, the study of sources, affinities, influences, against which our eminent historian Prof. Huizinga warned them already years ago. They have thus created an atmosphere of distrust and disdain among æsthetic critics and modern authors. And this undesirable state of things is not so much due to inferior historical works — though there are such — as to the exaggerated view some historians have taken of their own particular line of study, and the one-sided attitude they propagate.

Now it cannot, of course, be questioned that literary history is useful in itself. No one, not even the fiercest "non-historian" denies that it immediately justifies itself as a branch, and an important branch, of the history of civilization, and that as such it has great cultural and educational value. The real question, however, is whether it can at the same time substantiate the claim to be a help or a necessity for the understanding and appreciation of literary productions as works of art.

There have always been authors and critics who have laughed this claim to scorn. Sir Henry Newbolt, e.g., says in his book: *A New Study of English Poetry* (1917): "The more truly poetical a man's work is, the less it depends for its interpretation upon a knowledge of anything outside itself ... For the enjoying, understanding and estimating of poetry ... the historical method

<sup>8</sup> "... the latest instalment of his perennial endeavour to exhibit Shakespeare as a dramatist not for all time but of an age." (*Hamlet*, New Cambr. Edition, 1934.)

cannot be said even to exist." And as we have seen the new movement in literary history has gone very far in this direction, and nowadays several scholars have even come to the same conclusion as Newbolt and other critics. The wheel has indeed swung full circle. Whereas at one time competent scholars put implicit faith in the historical method, it is now utterly rejected by men as qualified to speak in the matter as were their learned predecessors, and who hold that it disregards the essential, that "literary history" is really a misnomer, because it always inevitably transforms itself into something else, into social history, theology, philosophy, folklore etc., that it uses the texts only as documents and not as works of art; that literary history is at best a hors d'œuvre, that we can do without it, just as we have no use for physical science when we want to enjoy a beautiful sunrise.

This extreme view does not sufficiently take account of all the various aspects of literature and their close interdependence. It overlooks the fact, for instance, that though it is true, as Farinelli says, that in literature it is the exception and not the species that counts, that it is the individual we must seek, there is no author, however original his work may be, but he undergoes the influence of the spirit of the time, or as Bonamy Dobrée puts it: "works in the idiom of his age." Shelley — whom no one will accuse of being a dryasdust historian — has expressed himself very definitely on this point in the preface to the first edition of *The Revolt of Islam*:

"... there must be a resemblance, which does not depend upon their own will, between all the writers of any particular age. They cannot escape from subjection to a common influence which arises out of an infinite combination of circumstances belonging to the times in which they lived, though each is in a degree the author of the very influence by which his being is thus pervaded. ... And this is an influence which neither the meanest scribbler, nor the sublimest genius of any era, can escape ..."

And when we grant the truth of this observation, can we then still consider ourselves justified when we study a poet's work only as an isolated phenomenon? Would it not be better after all also to devote attention to its relations to the work of other authors and to the general spirit of the time, and cannot literary history thus contribute something to a better understanding, a richer enjoyment of each individual work?

It would exceed the scope of this article to discuss these questions, and the matter has been treated extensively and very satisfactorily by Prof. Greenlaw in his book *The Province of Literary History*. It is a defence of the historian's point of view, which I would strongly recommend to those who are interested in the study and teaching of literature, though personally I cannot agree with all the opinions expressed in it. There are a few points too on which the book touches but lightly, and which would require further elucidation, and the most important of these is, I think, the question of the relationship between literary criticism and scholarly knowledge.

Among those who recognize the claims of each there are, as I said before, many who have advocated a rigorous separation between the two activities, who hold that the writing of literary history is something entirely different from the practising of criticism. Of late several protests have been made against this dangerous doctrine, which according to some would really lead the historian altogether away from what ought to be his principal task, whereas others see in this separatism only a chimera, an impossible ideal, if ideal it might be called. The two are closely related and ought to keep in touch with each

other. "Il n'y a pas, il ne doit pas y avoir d'opposition entre l'histoire littéraire et la critique littéraire ... Elles doivent s'entraider dans chacune de leurs démarches," says René Bray, and I can indeed hardly imagine how one can do either well without at the same time willy-nilly bestowing some attention on the other. For only in the rarest cases can the two aspects of a work of art, which we may roughly denote as the æsthetic and the historical, be really separated from each other; they are not independent elements, but inextricably fused and interrelated. And besides the historian of a certain period or of a whole literature cannot possibly treat all the writings that have ever appeared; he must needs make a selection, however much space, time and energy he may have at his disposal, and if he really tries to write *literary* history, as he purports to do, what other criterion can he apply than the *literary* value of the works from which he has to choose?

Criticism that does not lean on substantial historical knowledge may easily degenerate into nothing but facile appraisal, but on the other hand the risks incurred by the historian who tries to eliminate æsthetic judgement are still greater and more imminent, his work will become sterile or rather it will change itself into something that has but the slightest connection with literature or none at all. I am now of course thinking of the writing of literary history proper — including monographs, which differ from a "history" only in being more detailed and circumscribed — and not of what Prof. Ermatinger calls "Vorbereitungsarbeit": "die äussere Aufzeichnung von Dichternamen und Dichterlebensläufen, die Kataloge der Werke, die Untersuchung über Handschriften, Verfasserschaft, Bereinigung der Texte usw.," though it seems to me questionable whether even for much of this useful and necessary work æsthetic insight will not at times prove helpful. But for the writing of history, which is not a mere accumulation of facts, but always involves interpretation and synthesis, it is indispensable. What Prof. Huizinga said in his Inaugural Lecture about this point with regard to the "common" historian applies even more forcibly to the historian of literature. If he has no taste for the artistic side of literature he has mistaken his vocation, he ought never to have taken up the study of literature at all. And as several recent publications, and especially also the proceedings of the Buda-Pest Congress have shown many eminent historians are nowadays firmly convinced of this. The modern movement in literary history has put the essential in the forefront again; it has advocated a much needed reform and reminded historians of the truth, so often lost sight of, that literature should always and first of all be considered as an art, and by doing this it has undoubtedly rendered signal service to the study and teaching of literature. But, as Prof. Stocks says, in his *Introduction to Philosophy*: "The conquests of thought are lasting. But the step forward often brings with it a temporary distortion and displacement ... due to excessive emphasis on the chief factor in the advance made. Men tend to press a successful principle beyond its capacity. The new principle takes its discoverers captive, and is seen by them as opening the royal road to the truth." At present we see this happening in the province of literary history too; in their laudable zeal to propagate a principle sound in itself some of the revolutionaries have, I think, really gone somewhat too far, so that what we now stand in need of again is a repressor of overmuch blaming of the historian.

Amsterdam.

A. G. VAN KRANENDONK.

# Notes and News

## Correspondence

The Editor of ENGLISH STUDIES.

Sir,

May I ask you to insert a small correction. In his review of Langenfelt's book Dr. W. van der Gaaf writes: "According to Jespersen, *Growth*, p. [should be §] 162, names of agents in *-ers* (*-ars*), like *doers*, *hearers*, became popular in the sixteenth century. Langenfelt, however, shows that there are many such names in Wyclif", etc. Now, I do not say anything of the kind in my book. The only thing I say of the chronology of these formations is that combinations with an adverb (a *diner-out*, a *looker-on*) go back to Chaucer, but do not seem to be very frequent before the Elizabethan period; but that, of course, implies that the formations without an adverb occur frequently before Chaucer's times, and this well-known fact also appears very clearly from the whole of the rest of my paragraph, in which OE. examples are mentioned.

Lundehave, Helsingør.

OTTO JESPERSEN.

I sincerely regret the inaccuracy Professor Jespersen points out. It appears that I misread a passage in Langenfelt's book (p. 77), which runs as follows, "It has been said that those agential nouns in pl. *-ers* (*-ars*) became popular in the 16th century, and remained during the following ones. But they are not scarce at all in the later Middle Ages." In a foot-note referring to the first of these two sentences Langenfelt says, "Cf. Jespersen, *Growth* § 162 ..." I must have been led astray by the conjunction 'but.' Unfortunately I omitted to look up § 162 in *Growth*, which I ought to have done. If I had read the proofsheets myself, I should have verified the reference, as is my habit, and have found out my mistake. This, however, I was prevented from doing. When the proof arrived here, I was under medical treatment at a nursing-home.

I trust Professor Jespersen will accept my apologies for what practically amounts to misquoting his book.

Amsterdam.

W. VAN DER GAAF.

## Herlekin and Herlewin

The word *harlequin* first occurs in the *Ecclesiastical History* of Ordericus Vitalis, an English writer who flourished in the first half of the twelfth century. Orderic is telling the story of a fearsome experience which befell a certain priest, Gualchelm by name, at the beginning of January, 1091 (i.e. 1092). Here it will be enough to say that Gualchelm encountered the Wild Host,

to which he applied the name *familia Herlechini*, and which he represented as a company of damned souls come from hell. In the course of the narrative we learn further that Gualchelm was an Englishman, though his adventure took place in Normandy<sup>1</sup>. The young priest is quoted as saying to himself:

Hæc sine dubio familia Herlechini est; a multis eam olim visam audiui; sed incredulus relationes derisi, quia certa indicia nunquam de talibus vidi. Nunc vero manes mortuorum veraciter video; sed nemo mihi credet, cum visa retulero, nisi certum specimen terrigenis exhibuero (Prevost 371 f.; Migne 609 bottom).

From the word *olim* which Gualchelm here uses, and from the scepticism which he expects in Normandy, one is perhaps justified in presuming that the tales of the *familia* which he had heard were of English origin and had reached his ears before his removal to the Continent. Orderic himself, moreover, gives no hint that the *familia Herlechini* was known of in the Gaul of his day, apart from Gualchelm's adventure, and there are indications that the later vogue of the *familia*, in Normandy at least, was due to the very tale which Orderic tells<sup>2</sup>.

In the light of the later French forms *Herlekin*, *Herlequin* (and the modern *harlequin*), the *ch* of the *Herlechin* of Orderic must be interpreted as the familiar medieval spelling *ch* for [k]; in the present case, as in modern Italian, *ch* serves to mark the velar stop before a front vowel. A like spelling lies behind the *Herlething* of Walter Map<sup>3</sup>. This name-form has been explained in more ways than one it is true, but the lamented James Hinton, our greatest authority on the *Nugae*, was surely right in thinking that *Herlething* was only a mistake for *Herleking*, i.e. King Herla<sup>4</sup>. Since Hinton did not go into details, I will venture to develop his explanation a bit. If we start with an OE. *Her(e)la cyning* 'King Herla,' we should expect *Herle cing* in the eleventh century. Now the NED records for *king* a variant spelling *ching* in this same century. Walter would thus have had precedent for writing \**Herleching*, and I take it this was what he wrote. The extant *Herlething* exhibits a confusion of *c* and *t* easy enough in the handwriting then current and in fact often found in the MSS. of the period. In an earlier passage of the *Nugae* (I, xi), Walter tells us that Herla was an old king of the Britons who led the Wild Host. In other words, the *familia* or *phalanges Herlechingi*, the following of King Herla, was the Wild Host, precisely as in Orderic's account. I conclude that we have to do with an English word, \**Herleking* 'king Herla,' a word which lost its final [g] in the mouths of Frenchmen, whence the form *Herlechin* recorded in the text of Orderic.

Contemporary with Walter Map was the Anglo-French cleric, Peter of Blois, who in a letter dated 1175 denounced *nostri curiales* (i.e. the English courtiers) as *milites Herlewini* (Migne CCVII 44). The expression seems to be only a piece of rhetoric,<sup>5</sup> though it has its importance as an indication of

<sup>1</sup> The narrative comprises cap. xvii of Orderic's Book VIII; ed. Prevost III 367-77, ed. Migne CLXXXVIII 607-12.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. T. Forester's translation of Orderic, II 512, note 2, and E. Jessen, *Nordisk Tidskrift for Filologi*, 4th series, VII 89.

<sup>3</sup> *De Nugis Curialium* IV, xiii; ed. James, p. 186.

<sup>4</sup> F. Tupper and M. B. Ogle, *Courtiers' Trifles*, p. 322.

<sup>5</sup> O. Driesen, *Der Ursprung des Harlekin* (Berlin, 1904), p. 31, found it highly significant that as early as the twelfth century the term could be applied to "men of flesh and blood," but such a rhetorical extension of the meaning is surely natural and easy enough.

the familiarity of twelfth-century England with the Wild Host under this name. Driesen *loc. cit.* explains the name-form *Herlewin* as due to a contamination of *Herlechin* with the Continental personal name *Herluin*. I find it hard to believe, however, that either the ME. \**Herleking* or its French derivative *Herlekin* would readily have been confused with *Herluin*, whether by Peter or by the English of later times, who, as Driesen himself points out (pp. 128, 237 f.), used habitually the *w*-form first exemplified in Peter's letter. It seems preferable to seek an explanation of *Herlewin* which involves less phonological violence, and I am inclined to postulate, as the source of the form, a ME. \**Herlewine* < OE. *Her(e)lan wine* 'followers of Herla.' Such a term would obviously be applicable to the Wild Host, and Peter, along with the English of later times, might well have confused it with the English personal name *Herlewine*<sup>6</sup> and therefore treated it as a singular instead of recognizing that it was actually a plural. Alternatively, the expression *familia* or *milites Herlewini* might have arisen as a blend of the two semantic equivalents (1) *familia Herlekin(g)i* 'household of King Herla' and (2) *Herlewine* 'household of Herla.' For the use of *wine* 'friends' in the technical sense 'household, body of retainers,' see *Beowulf* 1418 and 2567.

No further examples of *herlekin* or *herlewin* are found before the next century, and Raynaud long ago made the point that all the occurrences of the term, until we come to the thirteenth century, have English connexions<sup>7</sup>. He might have gone further. The Herla of Walter Map is to be connected with the Herelingas of the OE. poem *Widsith*,<sup>8</sup> and the antecedents of *herlekin* can thus be traced to the oldest English literary monument which has come down to us. Panzer seems to have been the first to note this connexion.<sup>9</sup> In the poem, it is true, the Herelings are not Herla's men in general, but the so-called Harlung brothers. These brothers, however, as we learn elsewhere, died by hanging, and in Germanic religion death by hanging served to consecrate the victims to Woden, the leader of the Wild Host. It would seem, then, that Herla is Woden under another name. The name *Herla* (\**Herela*) does not occur in OE. as a simplex. We find it, however, as the first element of compounds (like *os-*, *god-*, *tiw-* and other divine names). Besides the *Herlewine* cited above may be mentioned *Herlewald*, the name of an eighth-century bishop, and *Herlebaldu*, the name of an eleventh-century "under-tenant."<sup>10</sup> W. G. Searle in his *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum* lists also the names *Herlebeorht*, *Herlemund* and *Herlewulf* (p. 295). Förstemann records the woman's name *Harilpurc*<sup>11</sup> (a name which may be englished as \**Herleburh*), and other names which he lists under the stem *ERLA* may actually belong to *HARILA*. For the syncope of *i* or *e* between *r* and *l*, see K. Luick, *Hist. Gram. der engl. Sprache*, § 336, 1. The preservation of the

<sup>6</sup> This name is the English cognate of the Continental *Herluin*; it is recorded, e.g., as the name of an eleventh-century monk of Bath. See B. Thorpe, *Dipl. Angl.* (1865), p. 617; here the name is spelt *Hærlwine*.

<sup>7</sup> G. Raynaud, in *Etudes Romanes dédiées à Gaston Paris* (1891), p. 53.

<sup>8</sup> E. Ekwall, *English Place-Names in -ing* (Lund, 1923), derives the place-name *Harling* in Norfolk from a hypothetical OE. *Herelingas* (p. 78), overlooking the actual occurrence of the name in *Widsith*.

<sup>9</sup> F. Panzer, *Deutsche Heldensage im Breisgau* (1904), p. 57.

<sup>10</sup> Birch, *Cart. Sax.* I 243 (No. 168, a grant dated A.D. 744); H. Ellis, *Gen. Intro. to Domesday Book*, II 337.

<sup>11</sup> E. Förstemann, *Altdeutsches Namenbuch*<sup>2</sup> I (1900) 785.

second e of *Herelingas* seems to be a West-Saxon dialectal peculiarity (Luick, § 339), though in the plural the rhythm might have inhibited the syncope.

The history of our word in the thirteenth and succeeding centuries has been traced by Driesen (*op. cit.*) and need not be considered here. We are concerned rather with its origin and early meaning, and the evidence already presented suffices, I think, to show that *herlekin(g)* was an English word to start with and was applied to Woden in his capacity as leader of the Wild Host, while *herlewin(e)* was applied to the Wild Host itself.

Baltimore, U.S.A.

KEMP MALONE.

**Cymbeline, II, ii, and The Eve of St. Agnes.** Noting the kinship of "sensuous solidity" in Keats's *Eve of St. Agnes* to that of Shakespeare's plays, especially the *Anthony and Cleopatra*, John Middleton Murry quotes stanzas 29, 30, and 31 of the former to illustrate this "colouring."<sup>1</sup> If Murry had examined the passage he quotes more in detail, he would assuredly have noticed more tangible evidence of a connection between the two poets than the mere sensuousness of the poetry. I speak of the similarity existing between the bedroom scene of the *Eve of St. Agnes* and the bedroom scene of *Cymbeline* (II, ii), especially of the similarity of the famous epithets applied to the eyes of the two sleeping heroines.

It will be recalled that in both scenes a man concealed in the bedroom of the heroine watches her as she sleeps; in both the man is overcome by the beauties of the heroine; in both elaborate descriptions of the bed chamber and the sleeping heroine are given in vividly sensuous verse; in both the breathing of the heroine is described; in both the epithet used in describing the eyes of the sleeping heroine is essentially the same.

Imogen, having gone to bed and having left a candle burning beside her, sleeps. Iachimo comes from the trunk in which he has been hiding and describes the sleeping beauty in part:

*Cytherea,*  
How brauely thou becom'st thy Bed; fresh Lilly,  
And whiter then the Sheetes: that I might touch,  
But kisse, one kisse. Rubies vnparagon'd,  
How deereley they doo't: 'Tis her breathing that  
Perfumes the Chamber thus: the Flame o' th' Taper  
Bowes toward her, and would vnder-peepe her lids.  
To see th' inclosed Lights, now Canopied  
Vnder these windowes, White and Azure lac'd<sup>2</sup>  
With Blew of Heauens owne tinct.

(*Cymbeline* II, ii 20-29)<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Keats and Shakespeare. *A Study of Keats's Poetic Life. 1816-1820.* London, 1926, pp. 201-202.

<sup>2</sup> Italics mine.

<sup>3</sup> I use the *Furness Variorum* text. The other reading of line 28, with the break following the word *azure*, does not disturb the connection. Keats must have read it as I have quoted. *Laced* comes at the end of the line; hence the probability of associating *azure* and *lac'd* together almost as if they were hyphenated.

Keats's scene, done in even greater detail, touches identical imagery :

Stol'n to this paradise, and so entranced,  
 Porphyro gazed upon her empty dress,  
 And listen'd to her breathing, if it chanced  
 To wake into a slumberous tenderness:  
 Which when he heard, that minute did he bless,  
 And breath'd himself: then from the closet crept,  
 Noiseless as fear in a wide wilderness,  
 And over the hush'd carpet, silent, stepped,  
 And 'tween the curtains peep'd, where lo! — how fast she slept.

And still she slept an *azure-lidded sleep*,<sup>4</sup>  
 In blanched linen, smooth, and lavender'd,  
 While he from forth the closet brought a heap  
 Of candied apple, quince, and plum, and gourd;  
 With jellies soother than the creamy curd,  
 And lucent syrups, *tinct* with cinnamon;<sup>4</sup>  
 Manna and dates, in argosy transferr'd  
 From Fez; and spiced dainties, every one,  
 From silken Samarcand to cedar'd Lebanon.

(*The Eve of St. Agnes*, XXVIII and XXX)

Disregarding the more general similarities of the two passages, one cannot escape "azure-lidded sleep" and "azure lac'd" eyelids; such similarity can hardly be explained as entirely fortuitous. And further to substantiate this contention is the word *tinct*, used in the same stanza with *azure-lidded*, and used by Shakespeare in the same sentence with *azure lac'd*.

I do not suggest that Keats is here consciously borrowing from Shakespeare.<sup>5</sup> Rather, I would point out that his felicitous passage, the epithet especially, is the result of a happy association, or the "confluences of recollections" in the poet's brain. His mind was so saturated with Shakespeare that whole passages were likely to come out spontaneously (as indeed they did, especially in his letters) without his being more than half conscious of them.<sup>6</sup> This echo is another instance of what genius does with reading; as Colvin aptly remarks, "genius cannot help turning whatever it takes into something of its own."<sup>7</sup>

The University of Florida.

THOMAS B. STROUP.

<sup>4</sup> Italics mine.

<sup>5</sup> It is well known, however, that Keats was greatly under the influence of Shakespeare during the period of the writing of *The Eve of St. Agnes*. The letters he wrote during the years 1818-19 are abundant evidence.

<sup>6</sup> Colvin (*John Keats*, New York, 1925, p. 98) notes that a picture of a beautiful maiden undressing for bed was drawn by William Browne for his *Britannia's Pastorals* (Book I, v, 857 ff.) and that this picture seems to have stuck in the poet's mind and to have come to the surface when he wrote the description of Madeline's disrobing, the passage immediately preceding the one with which I am dealing. If Browne's picture made such an impression, how much more impressive must Shakespeare's have been.

<sup>7</sup> *John Keats*, p. 89. The external evidence that Keats was thoroughly saturated with *Cymbeline* is ample: Charles Cowden Clark remarks on his weeping over a passage in the play (Weller, E.V., *Autobiography of John Keats Compiled from His Letters and Essays*, Stanford University, 1933, p. 8); Miss Spurgeon notes that *Cymbeline* is among the six plays most read and marked by Keats (Spurgeon, Caroline F. E., *Keats's Shakespeare, A Descriptive Study*, London, 1928, p. 3); Keats, writing to Miss Reynolds on September 14, 1817, remarks that he thinks Imogen "the finest Creature" (Forman, M. B., *Letters of John Keats*, I, p. 43); and he quotes from *Cymbeline* in a letter to Miss Brawne, October 13, 1819.

**The message ... to be done ...** One of the interesting archaisms in Keats's poetry is "the message certain to be done to-morrow" which occurs in *Sleep and Poetry*.<sup>1</sup> At first glance this might seem misuse of the verb *do*, but this is not the case. Keats had many predecessors to borrow the expression from, among whom were: Chaucer<sup>2</sup>, Spenser<sup>3</sup>, and Shakespeare<sup>4</sup>. The *Poems*, in which *Sleep and Poetry* was published, are redolent of the influence, direct or through later writers, of the three on the young poet.

The "message" occurs as the last in a list of "humble thoughts" on which the poet dwells. It seems to refer to some errand or visit which the writer expects to perform the following day. The expression occurs in this sense twice in *Titus Andronicus*<sup>5</sup> and may be the meaning of the Nurse's speech in Act II of *Romeo and Juliet*<sup>6</sup>. However this may be, it is certain that the young Keats came to the writing of the 1817 poems with his imagination saturated with the work of all three of these men.

Baltimore, Md.

CLAUDE JONES.

**Congress of Literary History.** The Second International Congress of Literary History, to which Professor Van Kranendonk refers in his article in this number, will be held at Amsterdam from September 18 to September 21. The general subject for discussion will be: *Periods in European Literary History after the Renaissance*. With one exception, a paper by Prof. L. Cazamian on "Les périodes dans l'histoire de la littérature anglaise moderne," "European" seems, for the purposes of the Congress, to be taken in the sense of "Continental." It is in accordance with this principle that the list of lecturers contains but one English name — that of Prof. J. Isaacs, of King's College, London, who will deal with "Baroque and Rococo: a history of two concepts." It is only fair to add that the Dutch contribution, apart from the organization of the Congress, will be even less significant, and that the Scandinavian countries will not be represented at all.

On the whole, however, the programme includes a rich variety of speakers and subjects, and the Congress will offer Dutch students of literature an unequalled opportunity to become acquainted at first hand with some of the main currents of contemporary literary scholarship. It is a pity only that the dates will probably make it impossible for other than academic teachers to attend. Those for whom this difficulty does not arise may apply to Prof. Dr. K. R. Gallas, 34 Minervalaan, Amsterdam (Z.), for admission. The fee for membership is five guilders.

<sup>1</sup> 1. 323.

<sup>2</sup> *Complete Works*, ed. Walter Skeat, London, Oxford U. Press, 1931, p. 490, l. 1087.  
<sup>3</sup> *F. Q.*, I, v, 13; V, iv, 48.

<sup>4</sup> *Titus Andronicus*, IV, i, l. 117. *Ib.* IV, iv, l. 104.  
*Romeo and Juliet*, II, v, l. 65.

*2 Gent. Ver.*, IV, iv, l. 91. *Ib.*, IV, iv, l. 93.

<sup>5</sup> See note on *T. A.* *supra*.

<sup>6</sup> See note on *R. & J.* *supra*.

## Reviews

*The Place-Names of Northamptonshire.* By J. E. B. GOVER, A. MAWER & F. M. STENTON. (English Place-Name Society, vol. X). lli + 311 pp. Cambridge University Press, 1933. 18 sh.

Northamptonshire is neither purely Saxon, like Devon, nor chiefly Scandinavian, as Yorkshire; it cannot be said to be typically Anglian. But it is emphatically English, i.e. its place-names leave a curiously modern impression, even in their oldest form, and this does not make the interpretation easier. The county is old however. The former meeting place of the Fawsley hundred is still known and boundaries fixed in a charter of 944 are still recognisable. Much earlier still, going back to the first times of the Anglo-Saxon invasion, are settlements in the Nene valley, soon followed by the foundation of monasteries in the VIIIth century. Very little however of that ancient history has left traces, since the Danish devastation in the ninth century wiped out the greater part of the records of the earlier period. A very useful illustration of the diverse elements represented in the nomenclature will be found in the maps which accompany the volume and show the distribution respectively of the Anglian and the Scandinavian element, and also of such words as *thorp* (English, Scandinavian and doubtful), *feld*, *leah*, *cot*. As in former volumes, names of streets (Northampton, Peterborough) are not forgotten and they furnish amateurs of riddles with plenty of matter. May I note that *Krakebollestr.* (p. 8) is curiously identical with Flemish *krakebol*, a popular name of the fruit of the *Colutea arborescens* L.? The meaning is evidently "cracking ball", in Flemish; what it meant in English in the thirteenth century is a question in itself.

Of many explanations proposed it can only be said that they are quite satisfactory, either on account of their simplicity or of the ingenuity displayed by the authors. *Kislingbury* is compared with Ger. *Kiesel*, gravel: *k* instead of *ch* would a "Scandinavisation" (p. 86); *pot* (p. 91) is a still extant depression; *Cort* (p. 145) is a personal name, which can be of some help in dealing with Du. names as *Kortenaken*, *Kortenbergh* (Brabant), where one might hesitate between the personal name and the adjective *kort*, short. *Hemplow*, p. 76, is a playground for hinds, to be compared with *Deerplay* (Lanc., York). In *Brigstock* (p. 159) the first element is probably *birch*, the whole meaning "birch-tree-stump". *Wakerley* (p. 172) "clearing of the watchful ones" is very judiciously analysed as *wacra* (gen. plur.) + *leah*. The same praise is due to the articles *Irchester*, *Nassington*, *Horseshoes*, *Thrapston*, *Thurning* (cf. O.Du. *Thorneth*), *Barnack* and many others. A curious personal name is *Maccus*, preserved in *Maxey* (p. 237).

On the other hand toponymy would not be what it is if we could solve all its puzzles. Names containing *cat* (p. 16, 47, 187) are found in many countries, the meaning however is anything but clear; what is the significance of *Daventry*, with old forms agreeing remarkably with those of Du. *Deventer*? — Apropos of *Staverton* we learn (p. 29) that the distribution of the element *staver-* in English place-names shows that it is of native English origin, though O.Dan. *stafær* "pole" exists, whereas O.E. \**stæfer* is only a supposition. I am not convinced that *Hellidon* is from a not recorded *hælig* (p. 24), that *Slapton* is a slippery place with an enclosure, *Flour* a Roman pavement or *Teeton* a token, i.e. a beacon. The same applies to *Creaton*,

*Crick, Hoppin, Kayland* etc.: *non liquet*. As to *Cuttle Mill, Cuttle Brook*, (p. 103) it must be borne in mind that the Low German parallels quoted look rather suspicious, in view of Du. *keutel, keuter*, both of which are often used in compounds to indicate a very small amount. Thus, e.g., *Keutelbeek* might be a name for a very small stream. But what is the original meaning? *Keutel* has the sense of a small lump of dung, mostly excrements of sheep or goats, whereas *keuter* is the tenant of a *kot*, i.e. in former days the hut of the lowest and poorest class of peasants. The common link between the two words is of course a notion of despicable smallness. I am afraid there is little probability of the Dutch terms and English *cuttle* being cognates. — In view cf. O.Du. *Bladramercs* (O. Gentsche Naamk. 36) it is not safe to explain *Blatherwycke* (p. 156) and other names containing *bladder* simply by referring to the element *bladder* in names of plants. *Elminton* and *Elmstead* (Kent) though probably containing *elm* are quite mysterious in their derivation. Apropos of *Faxton*, which is compared quite correctly with personal names in *Fak-* (chiefly Norse), it may be useful to point to the possibility of *fak* or *fæc* being a common noun meaning division (of land), a signification well established in continental Germanic (O.E. *fæc* chiefly means space, interval of time). — *Geldene* (p. 41) with its variants is not necessarily from *gold*, it might be of one origin with *Jodogne* (Belgium), formerly *Geldonia*, which Holder considers Celtic, without proof. I suggest *geld*, barren, plus the well-known suffix *-umnia*, often represented by *-ogne* in Romanic Belgium (e.g. *Hollogne*, from \**holumnia*, hollow place). A similar derivation could yield *Geldene* or *Gildene* in O.E., the only difficulty being that *geld* is chiefly used of barren female animals, but not as far as I know of an unfertile soil. — The original meaning of *haga* seems to be "(small) wood" and only as a derivative sense "enclosure". This is borne out by *Wikelehawe* (p. 173) and by modern dialects.

An original feature of the present volume is the full treatment which field-names have received. I cannot dwell on the many interesting particulars we learn in this very attractive part of the book. *Boverie* p. 274 (= Fr. *bouverie*) is known also in Flanders (de Flou); in Dutch the common noun *bovier*, bullock-driver, was in use in the Middle Ages. Rather surprising is the great number of full names occurring in field-names (*Æpelstan*, *Bealdwine*, *Eadric*, *Wulfward*, etc.; see the full list p. 290), whereas the older layer yields so many "unintelligible" pet-names in place-names (cf. *Redin*). This is one of the many difficulties of the study of personal names which has not as yet received the attention it deserves. The list distinguishes between O.E., Scand. and continental names. In some instances it is very difficult to draw a line. *William* is a Germanic name but it was practically unknown in England before the Conquest; *Walter*, with *t*, is continental for O.E. *Waldere*. But is *Bernard* in the XIIIth century a direct reflex of O.E. *Beornheard*, uninfluenced by French *Bernard*? I am inclined to doubt. *Beorngar* is represented in Searle by not quite half a dozen instances, most of which must have applied to non-English persons. The place *Berengerestibbing* 1330 was in consequence most probably named after a French *Berenger*.

Be this as it may, each new issue of the English Place-Name Society is an advance on its predecessor and deserves a warm welcome from all those interested in place-name research.

*The Plays of John Marston*, in three volumes. Edited from the earliest texts with Introduction and Notes by H. HARVEY WOOD. Edinburgh-London, Oliver and Boyd, 1934. Volume One, Pp. xlv—246. Price 8/6 net. (The Blackfriars Dramatists, ed. by H. Harvey Wood).

It would be very difficult nowadays to disagree with Mr. Harvey Wood's statement that "Marston's plays have probably disappointed more modern readers than those of any other Elizabethan dramatist". Still, Charles Lamb, *pace* the ghost of Elia who has been recently haunting us in his centennial glory, took Marston so much for a star of the first magnitude, as to give copious extracts from his plays, while he felt he owed his readers an apology for quoting a short passage from Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, meant only "for their amusement." He judged the Prologue to *Antonio's Revenge* "as solemn a preparative as the 'warning voice which he who saw the Apocalypse, heard cry'". What praise would he then have bestowed on Agrippa d'Aubigné's famous passage in *Les Tragiques*!

Si quelqu'un me reprend que mes vers eschauffez  
Ne sont rien que de meurtre et de sang estoffez,  
Qu'on n'y lit que fureur, que massacre, que rage,  
Qu'horreur, malheur, poison, trahison et carnage ...

.....  
Ce siecle, autre en ses mœurs, demande un autre style.  
Cueillons des fruits amers desquels il est fertile, etc.

which, with far greater sincerity, strikes the same note as Marston's

If any spirit breathes within this round,  
Uncapable of waightie passion ...

.....  
Who winks, and shuts his apprehension up  
From common sense of what men were, and are,  
Who would not knowe what men must be; let such  
Hurrie amaine from our black visag'd shoves:  
We shall affright their eyes. But if a breast,  
Nail'd to the earth with griefe, etc.

The Latin writers of the first century, Seneca, Tacitus, Juvenal, moralists and satirists who scourged the vices and follies of their iron age, were felt to be very much akin in spirit by many authors who flourished at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century in France and in England. Jonson, Donne, Shakespeare, experienced that mood which, after Marston's play, could be termed the "malcontent" mood. *Troilus and Cressida* is perhaps the most powerful embodiment of it in England, d'Aubigné's *Tragiques* in France, although d'Aubigné rises occasionally to a violence of dantesque invective. Some, who began by writing *sermones* in the Horatian sense, ended by delivering actual sermons from the pulpit. D'Aubigné was not only a militant satirist, but also a director of souls; Donne became Dean of St. Paul's, Marston spent the latter half of his life as an obscure clergyman, after having been intended at first for the study of law, like Donne. D'Aubigné's character commands our admiration, Donne's appeals to our sympathy, but we cannot help feeling that Marston's must have been an unpleasant personality. His imagination and style seem exuded by a soul at once "retort and obtuse", if we may use a grotesque couple of

adjectives he puts into the mouth of one of his comic characters (Balurdo in *Antonio's Revenge*). Donne's abstruseness appears as a new grace, if we take the trouble to understand him, but "the text of Marston cannot in places be interpreted into sense by even the most ingenious commentator", as Mr. Harvey Wood declares, or rather "under the emotional stress, his expression is not merely unintelligible, it is unintelligent, preposterous gibberish". What was the nature of that emotional stress? The sincerity of Marston's satirical attitude has often been called in question. He started his literary career with a licentious narrative poem, *The Metamorphosis of Pygmalion's Image*; then he hastily turned to a strain of moral indignation, which, not unnaturally, has been interpreted by some as merely the cloak for a prurient and perverted interest in the vices he chastised. An analysis of the imagery of his works, on the lines followed by Professors Caroline Spurgeon and Wilson Knight for Shakespeare, and recently by M. C. Bradbrook for other dramatists (in *Themes and Conventions of Elizabethan Tragedy*, Cambridge 1935), would easily bear out that interpretation. Marston's imagery is chiefly stercoraceous; his style is a costive style: he suffers from some obstruction which turns the life-blood within him into bottled sediment. It is as if the nausea of Atreus's banquet had left an indelible stain on the dramatist's imagination. The imagery derived from the stomach and the belly does not occur only in cases when it can be construed as an expression of moral disgust (as in many passages of *Antonio's Revenge*, for instance II, 5: "Thy honest stomach, that could not digest / The crudities of murder: but surcharg'd / Vomited'st them up in Christian pietie"; V, 2: "the citizens growne sick / With swallowing the bloodie crudities / Of black Pieros acts; they faine would cast / And vomit him from off their government"; and, of course, in *The Malcontent*, for instance IV, 5: "this earth is the only grave and Golgotha wherein all thinges that live must rotte: tis but the draught wherein the heavenly bodies discharge their corruption, the very muckhill on which the sublunarie orbes cast their excrement"); it is rather, one would say, the kind of imagery to which Marston would spontaneously resort in all cases. Here is a sea storm from *Antonio and Mellida*, I:

the sea grewe mad,  
His bowels rumbling with winde passion,  
..... the rocks gron'd  
At the intestine uprore of the maine.  
..... the keene lightning shot  
Through the black bowels of the quaking ayre:  
Straight chops a wave, and in his sliftred panch  
Downe fals our ship, and there he breaks his neck:  
Which in an instant up was belkt againe ...

Very appropriately, therefore, Jonson caused Crispinus (i.e. Marston) in *Poetaster* to submit to being relieved by the salutary but drastic pill:

Please it great Caesar, I have pills about me  
.....  
Would give him a light vomit; that should purge  
His braine, and stomack of those tumorous heates ...

And Crispinus vomits "terrible, windie wordes, a signe of a windie braine". Only, it was no mere case of indigestion of words with Marston, as Jonson diagnosed. The man was far deeper "retort and obtuse".

To use another "digestion" image, which seems to fit our subject: "It is only the poet's power," — writes Miss Bradbrook — "which could digest the heterogeneous elements of the Elizabethan play: no other solvent would be powerful enough." Marston had no such power. His work is a now amusing, now irritating repertory of conventions. He adapted Jonson's categories of humours to the Revenge Tragedy of Kyd's Senecan manner: ambition and lust are the sole springs of his puppets. Of lyrical power to unify his ill contrived plots, he possessed none. His struggle to achieve a forcible style

(O that our Muse  
Had those abstruse and synowvy faculties,  
That with a straine of fresh invention  
She might presse out the raritie of Art;)

resulted only in what Mr. Harvey Wood calls "the most absurd fustian", which exposes even further his poverty of invention and the puerility of his melodrama. But by his very defects Marston helped to bring about the bankruptcy of the Revenge Tragedy. After *Antonio's Revenge*, "pell mell vengeance" could hardly appeal to a great poet for itself: the interest had henceforward to be focussed on the revenger, not on his function. Antonio's epitaph had been *Ne plus ultra*. If he were to be reborn, it could only be as Shakespeare's Hamlet.

While Shakespeare, as F. Radebrecht has shown in his *Shakespeares Abhängigkeit von John Marston*, 1918, was indebted to Marston's *Antonio's Revenge*, Marston had *Hamlet* before his mind in *The Malcontent*, both in the general conception of the character of Altofronto-Malevole<sup>1</sup>, and in a few passages. But it was not in Marston's power to imitate the baffling complexity of Hamlet: his Malcontent, as Miss Bradbrook has pointed out, is modelled on the much less sophisticated type of the Jonsonian commentator (Crites, Asper, Horace): his sardonic accent is precisely the same. Even before that, Marston had been influenced by Shakespeare. Mr. Harvey Wood sees in the situation: "Poyson the father, butcher the son, and marry the mother", of *Antonio's Revenge*, an anticipation of *Hamlet*; but Marston's Piero is a close relation of Richard III, of Shakespeare's Richard (cf. I, 2, 231: "What! I that kill'd her husband and his father..."), and the whole situation, of the tyrant's wooing of the widow of his victim; also the dialogue preceding the murder of the child, in *Antonio's Revenge*, III, 3, recalls the pathetic simplicity of the "incapable and shallow innocents" in *Richard III*), as well as of the Richard of *The True Tragedy*, whose prodigious epiphora:

The headless peers come pressing for revenge ...  
The sun by day shines hotly for revenge,  
The moon by night eclipseth for revenge, etc.

is echoed in Piero's speech (I, 1):

Will I not blast my owne blood for revenge?  
Must not thou straight be perjur'd for revenge?  
And yet no creature dreame tis my revenge.

Mr. Harvey Wood's chief contribution is the Introduction; his notes have

1 I may add here that Wyndham Lewis's use of the word *altofronto*, which seemed to me odd in my article on that writer in *English Studies*, vol. X, no. 1, p. 8, is clearly derived from *The Malcontent*.

little to add to A. H. Bullen's commentary to his now scarce edition of Marston's *Works* (1887). He has not been able to find the sources of the classical quotations which Bullen failed to trace. As for the many passages in Italian, he is content with repeating Prof. P. Rèbora's vague statement, that "alcuni versi italiani ... richiamano nettamente certi canti e lamenti di Dafni, di Arianne o di Euridici quali si trovano nelle canzonette, arie, o nei primi libretti del tempo", where *nettamente* is curiously contradicted by the haziness of what follows. Encouraged perhaps by Prof. Rèbora's statement, Mr. Harvey Wood ventures to see "an adaptation of a duologue from Italian pastoral drama" (which he is unable to identify), in a passage of *Antonio and Mellida*, IV ("Spavento del mio core, dolce Mellida", etc.), which rather betrays an attempt at writing Italian verse on the part of one who was only imperfectly familiar with the spirit of the language, just as we would expect Marston to be, who had an Italian mother. This is the impression we receive also from the other Italian passages in Marston. That he was well read in Italian literature can be shown by a quotation from *Orlando Furioso* in *The Malcontent*, V, 1 :

When Griffon saw the reconciled queane,  
Offering about his neck her armes to cast :  
He threw of sword and hartes malignant streames,  
And lovely her below the loynes imbrast,

For these lines both Bullen and Harvey Wood are content to repeat Reed's comment: "Griffon is one of the heroes of *Orlando Furioso*, from whence one might suspect these lines to be taken. I do not, however, find them there." Marston has condensed stanza 8 ff. of the XVIth canto of Ariosto's poem :

Tosto che la puttana comparire  
vede Grifon ...  
Verso Grifon l'aperte braccia tende,  
Lo stringe al collo e gran pezzo ne prende ...

In the character of Balurdo (*Antonio and Mellida*, *Antonio's Revenge*), Marston has caricatured the contemporary vogue (chiefly Italian) for *imprese*, and for the quaint natural history lore which supplied it with suggestions ("You know the stone called *lapis*; the nearer it comes to the fire, the hotter it is..."). Galeatzo and Matzagente also use *imprese*; these, however, are in earnest, and can be traced to contemporary sources. "A burning glasse, the word *splendente Phoebus*" (*Ant. and Mell.*, V) was a common device, discussed by Ruscelli (*Imprese illustri*, 1584, p. 126 ff.), Bocchius (*Symbolicarum Quaestionum*, symb. LX: "Concipiunt ignes specularia concava solis"), etc. "A glowe worme, the word *Splendescit tantum tenebris*" is recorded in Picinelli's encyclopaedia of devices, *Mondo simbolico*, lib. VIII, cap. 12, where the motto, *In Tenebris Lucet*, is traced to St. John's first epistle. Mendoza, in *The Malcontent*, I, 6, makes use of the device of the she-bear shaping her young ones ("As Beares shape young, so Ile forme my devise...") which one finds in Horapollo's *Hieroglyphica*, in Pittoni's *Imprese* (being Titian's own device), etc. Malevole (*The Malcontent*, II, 3) quotes the emblem (derived from the apologue) of the eagle and the tortoise :

Good God how subtle Hell dooth flatter vice,  
Mount him aloft, and makes him seeme to flie,  
As foule the Tortois mockt: who to the skie,  
Th'ambitious shell fish rais'd: th'end of all,  
Is onely that from height he might dead fall.

In Picinelli's *Mondo simbolico*, lib. IV, cap. 7, this emblem has the motto: *Elevat ut allidat*. Another well-known emblem, of the ivy destroying the tree which has helped it to mount (from Plutarch), being a symbol of ingratitude, (see Picinelli, IX, 12), is quoted by Malevole (*Mal.*, V, 4):

The flatterer like the Ivy clip the Oke,  
And wast it to the hart: lust so confirm'd  
That the black act of sinne it selfe not shamd  
To be termde Courtship.

The emblem symbolised also (Bargagli, *Imprese*; Ferro, *Teatro d'Imprese*; Picinelli) the lustful woman who destroys her lovers by her embraces.

Illustrations of the kind would no doubt have increased too much the bulk of the notes, while they would not have been necessary to the understanding of the text; but there are cases in which we turn vainly to the commentator for enlightenment. Is for instance the following passage so immediately clear as to need no explanation?

Are you all like the spoke-shaves of the Church?  
Have you no mawe to restitution?

(*Antonio's Revenge*, IV, 5)

In one case (*Mal.*, II, 5), consultation of the *N.E.D.* would have helped Mr. Harvey Wood to find the point of the joke:

*Mal.*... Shals go to supper, Lets be once drunke together, and so unite a most vertuously strengthened friendship, shals, Hugonot, shals? ..... I meane to turne pure Rochell Churchman, I.

Bullen says only: "At this time Rochelle was an asylum for persecuted Protestants" — which hardly helps to explain the allusion. Harvey Wood suggests: "*Hugonot*, used here apparently in the sense of 'hypocrite'. Compare the allusion a few lines lower to 'pure Rochell Churchman', Rochelle being then, and for years after, a centre of persecuted Protestantism." But *Rochelle* appears to have been commonly used chiefly in the XVI-XVIIth centuries "to designate the kind of wine exported from this place". The *N.E.D.* quotes several instances of this use, whereas there is no instance of the word *Huguenot* in the sense of "hypocrite". Malevole asked Mendoza to be a confederate with him (*Huguenot* < *Eidgenosz* = confederate) through drinking (cf. "pure Rochelle Churchman"); there is possibly an allusion also to "the Supper", the term favoured by extreme Protestants since the XVIth century (*N.E.D.*), in: "Shals go to supper". (By the way, the use of the term *cross-caper* in *The Malcontent*, IV, 4, should be added to the *N.E.D.*, whose first instance for it is from Massinger's *Virgin Martyr*, 1622).

Mr. Harvey Wood's method in editing Marston's plays is stated once for all apropos of *Antonio and Mellida* and *Antonio's Revenge*: "The text of the play is undoubtedly corrupt in places, but I have preferred the corruptions of 1602 to original corruptions of my own. It has been said, perhaps unjustly, that ignorance and conceit are the fruitful parents of conjectural emendation, for the text of Marston cannot in places be interpreted into sense by even the most ingenious commentator". Thus a passage like this (*Ant. and Mell.*, IV, 1):

I have beene —  
That Morpheus tender skinp — Cosen germane  
Beare with me good —

is left alone by Mr. Harvey Wood, who obviously agrees with Bullen's remark: "These ravings are unintelligible". The passage could be made however more intelligible by reading *skinp* as a misprint for *skind*, "tender-skinned" being a very appropriate epithet in the case. On p. 234, the note on "sound brain'd Macheveil" ought to refer to p. 109 instead of 106.

Rome.

MARIO PRAZ.

*The Intellectual Milieu of John Dryden.* Studies in some Aspects of Seventeenth-Century Thought. By L. I. BREDVOLD. (University of Michigan Publications, Language and Literature. Vol. XII.) viii + 189 pp. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1934. \$ 2.50.

It was not Prof. Bredvold's purpose to write a biographical or critical study of John Dryden, but to characterize him as an exponent of the 17th century. His book may be called "eine geistesgeschichtliche Studie", and in that respect it is a very welcome supplement to Prof. Willey's book *The Seventeenth Century Background*, reviewed in the February number of this journal. There are several results of this study worth keeping in mind, especially the well argued claim that Dryden's thought was by no means heterogeneous or insincere, as most former critics were inclined to believe. It is shown by the author that Dryden's political attitude as well as his rather sudden religious conversion sprang from the same roots. They rose out of his rigid scepticism, which he had in common with most of his contemporaries.

This thesis leads to a long and profound discussion of the traditions of scepticism in 17th century England. The sceptic attitude of mind was not so much the consequence of religious unbelief as of a philosophical outlook on life resulting from the bitter consciousness that all knowledge was vain. In that respect scepticism is not a characteristic feature of the baroque age only, but of all centuries since the ancient Greeks. Prof. Bredvold traces the idea through the Middle Ages and the Renaissance without omitting anything, till at last he comes to the 17th century. It is of course very interesting to accompany the author on his long journey through past ages, but I cannot quite see that the scope of this study makes it at all necessary. In this way not only the age under discussion but also the author's statements on Dryden himself are burdened with accessories which often make it rather difficult to select the essentials. This is a serious objection to a book which in other respects is full of information and ideas. "Geistesgeschichte" does not mean the elimination of the individual personality altogether, but rather that the individual personality should be relieved by placing it against the background of its time.

This defect in the structure of the book is very prominent in the third chapter, where Prof. Bredvold discusses the crisis of the new science. He gives a thorough survey of the works of Bacon, Hobbes and the Royal Society, and comes to the conclusion that Dryden really appreciated the new science, though the evidence for this view is very fragmentary. Why such a long introduction for such a poor result?

The chapters on religion and politics are far better, because here the author

deals with the central problem of Dryden's thought. The starting-point of the discussion is again the philosophical scepticism, which in the sphere of religion, according to Prof. Bredvold, by no means leads to atheism, but to a revival of faith. This is a thesis which is illuminatingly supported by many examples from the Roman Catholic literature of the 16th and 17th centuries. The author succeeds in proving that the Roman Catholic writers were not enemies of reason, but that they successfully endeavoured to bring reason into harmony with faith. Prof. Bredvold is certainly right in making such a statement, but he does not always take into consideration that the word "reason" has such a variety of shades and colours that it must be interpreted differently for nearly each writer of the period. Dryden is placed in this tradition. Scepticism and religious belief are not contrasts to him, but necessarily supplement each other. Prof. Bredvold denies that Dryden was a deist when writing his "Religio Laici". It is, however, difficult to say what he was before that time. Perhaps he was not so much a rationalist, as we used to assume, as a sceptic "living in an age predominantly sceptical" (p. 115). The author is inclined to see in the early writings, especially in *The Rule of Faith* (1666) and *Tyrannic Love* (1670), evidence of that special attitude which alienated him from Hobbes and brought him into close connection with the Roman Catholic writers of the time and their apologies. It cannot be denied that the author gives clever arguments for his thesis, though on the other hand they seldom have the validity of definite proofs. They are often based on mere conjectures, founded on a careful study of the religious tendencies of Dryden's time.

Dryden's philosophical scepticism led him to political conservatism. Here again Bredvold points out that the unity in Dryden's thought was in close agreement with the leading political ideas of the time. In all — that is the result of the book — Dryden's ideas underwent no violent change, but slowly grew into maturity. Everyone who reads Prof. Bredvold's book will agree that it is a very stimulating study of some aspects of the 17th century — in spite of the shortcomings mentioned above.

Breslau.

P. MEISSNER.

*The Early Days of Joel Barlow, A Connecticut Wit.* Yale Graduate, Editor, Lawyer and Poet. Chaplain during the Revolutionary War. His Life and Works from 1754 to 1787. By THEODORE ALBERT ZUNDER. (Yale Studies in English, Vol. LXXXIV.) xii and 320 pp. 8°. New Haven: Yale University Press. London: Humphrey Milford. Oxford University Press. 1934.

Joel Barlow was a "Connecticut Wit" only for a short period of his life. He was born and brought up in the State and is one of the glories of the early days of Yale College; but, unlike Timothy Dwight, later President of Yale, John Trumbull, Noah Webster, the lexicographer, and most of the others in the group of young men that made Hartford their base of literary attack on American conditions after the close of the Revolutionary War, he left the country early in his career and spent a far more important second intellectual youth in France and England. A more appropriate epithet than the narrow

and provincial one of "Connecticut Wit" would have been something like "adventurer in life"; for literature, i.e. poetry, was only one of several episodes in his life, alongside of the law, big business, politics, society and diplomacy. There was a romantic intellectual restlessness in him that carried him far beyond the limits of his Connecticut beginnings. He was one of the early ambassadors of the mind from America to Europe; like Irving and Cooper a little later, essentially conservative in his outlook, but unlike Irving willing and eager to learn, and unlike Cooper in that he never repudiated in later life the democratic consciousness he acquired in the Old World. That may be due to circumstances; he died in 1812, just before the ebb of democracy in Europe and its flood tide in America. It is unfortunate for his fame that his chief tangible claim to it should be a long didactic poem on the future of America, finished in his youth as *The Vision of Columbus*, when his enthusiasm outweighed his experience and its warmth made the heavy verse just tolerable, and revised and expanded as *The Columbiad* in later years, when knowledge and insight hedged in his ardor and weighted the poetic vessel to the sinking point. Barlow the poet and "Connecticut Wit" is dead, but Barlow the man is still a vital personality and one of the finest American figures of his day.

Of this, the larger, Barlow the study in hand gives not the slightest inkling. One reason is that it follows Barlow's life only as far as the publication of *The Vision of Columbus* in 1787. The other is that obviously the author has no conception, or at least not the ability to express a conception, of Barlow in his larger aspects. He gives an almost day-by-day chronicle of Barlow's movements and doings during his Connecticut life, stressing especially his marriage and early business ventures and drawing on all the known sources — printed and unprinted — for a great mass of detailed material which is presented in as strictly chronological a sequence as is possible and makes the heaviest, stickiest reading imaginable. There is no doubt that the author has done his job carefully and conscientiously, that he has "added to our knowledge" of the subject and that he has corrected errors in statements of fact made by his predecessors. And it is equally indisputable that he has attempted to enliven his dreary march of factual statements with personal comment here and there. But unfortunately these trite and sentimental remarks tend rather to lower than raise the general level of the book and turn poor Joel in his young days into a kind of Alger-book hero, certain to grow rich in the end — which he did, of course!

The chief value of the book lies in the description of and the long quotations from Barlow's early poetry, up to and including the *Vision*. But the discussion, so far as it is attempted, is, from the point of view of literary history, entirely inadequate; the mention of such names as Churchill, Shenstone and Pope does not offer much more than the mere perusal of these conventional poems would suggest of itself. The textual reproduction of the poems, too, is amateurish, with a superfluous fidelity that reproduces trivial misprints and slips of the pen and an irritating repetition of *sic*! after spellings and phrases that — in the majority of cases — were not at all unusual in the eighteenth century.

As a chronicle of Barlow's early life the work will be useful; that is all that can honestly be said for it. In the last sentence of the book the author promises a second volume!

*Literary Friendships in the Age of Wordsworth.* An Anthology selected and edited by R. C. BALD. xxiv + 284 pp. Cambridge University Press. 1932. 7 sh. 6 d.

This is a charming book, a feast of good things. With such a subject, treated in the anthological method, it could scarcely have been otherwise, but Mr. Bald has made so happy a choice from the letters, diaries, autobiographies and essays of this prolific period that the book consists solely of titbits, "the best of Lamb" and of Hunt, Hazlitt and De Quincey. Here is Lamb announcing his liberation to Wordsworth. "I came home for ever on Tuesday in last week. The incomprehensibility of my condition overwhelmed me. It was like passing from life into Eternity" (262). Here is Crabb Robinson's account of a lecture by Coleridge to a distinguished audience on every subject except that advertised, Leigh Hunt's description of his rose-papered prison, the description by De Quincey of Southey's library, "which Coleridge used to call his wife" — showing Southey at his best, and his description of Wordsworth in De Quincey's library showing Wordsworth at his worst, cutting De Quincey's copy of Burke with a knife which had just been used to butter toast; Hazlitt's celebrated account of his first meeting with Coleridge, Haydon's description of the immortal dinner at which the comptroller of stamps asked Wordsworth, "Don't you think, sir, Milton was a great genius?" causing Lamb to take up a candle to look at the gentleman's phrenological development; here too the charming picture of Shelley playing "frightful creatures" with Leigh Hunt's little boy. I think more of this "Ariel" side of Shelley might have been shown. It is almost the only flaw I find in the book. We could quite well dispense with some of De Quincey, for example part at least of the too long passage at pp. 194-209, in exchange for a description of the tricky spirit and gay companion Shelley could sometimes be.

While I am fault-finding, I think that it was a mistake not to give Coleridge's *This Lime Tree Bower My Prison* in its original form as it really was in the letter here printed (14). The original version gives the first more spontaneous gesture of friendship, and that is what we want in this book of friendships. The same mistake, but a hundred times worse, is made in printing Coleridge's *Dejection* in the form Coleridge gave it after the estrangement from Wordsworth, altering the original "William" and "Wordsworth" to "Lady". As it stands, it has little sense in this book — unless as an illustration of Coleridge's other passage, "Alas, they had been friends in youth;" or of the editor's over-reverence for definitive versions.

The most pleasing and, surprisingly enough, prominent figure in the book is Lamb, who is seen better — nearer, more human and natural, — in his letters than even in his essays since without the slight mask of Elia. How slight that mask sometimes is may be seen from the passage on his liberation quoted above. It is the great, imaginative style of the essays. His letter to Coleridge telling him of Mary's tragedy reveals an agonised heart striving for self-control. His reprimand of Southey for his review of *The Ancient Mariner* is in a bolder tone than one associates with the gentle Elia, as well as being admirable criticism (40). In his brief but useful introduction, Mr. Bald well points out that Lamb's literary influence on his friends was more important than is generally recognised — an influence exerted not merely through his *Specimens and Essays* but through his conversation at the "Thursday nights" in his rooms (xxii). What a talker he was! Indeed what talkers they all

seem to have been, especially of course on literature, though I suspect with Mr. Bald that Hazlitt's account of one of Lamb's "Thursday nights" (p. 96) is an "imaginary reconstruction" of many such evenings.

The book was however not compiled only for enjoyment. It is intended for pedagogical uses too — as "a companion to the study of the period of the Romantic Revival" ... "to provide a background somewhat wider and more interesting than the usual bare statements of biographical facts concerning each author, which are all that are usually offered to the student or the general reader" (xv). The editor has succeeded admirably. One can get from the book a very adequate notion of the Wordsworth group and of the younger men of 1820, even some notion of Scott and Byron, though owing to circumstances both were rather on the periphery. What better means of explaining the position Coleridge occupied in his day, which it is now utterly impossible to understand from his printed works, than by reading in this book Lamb's letter to Wordsworth describing him at Dr. Gillman's — "an archangel a little damaged". "Coleridge is absent but four miles, and the neighbourhood of such a man is as exciting as the presence of fifty ordinary persons. 'Tis enough to be within the whiff and wind of his genius for us not to possess our souls in quiet" (131). Hazlitt's account of Coleridge in the essay *My First Acquaintance with Poets*, is also included here, but the less known description by De Quincey gives an even better notion of the sense of ir retrievable loss among Coleridge's circle as they heard the "overflowing opulence of golden thoughts continually welling up and flowing to waste in the course of his ordinary conversation" (203). For such passages — and there are many — the book will be found very handy by all teachers of literature who know the value of giving students a clear impression not only of works but of the personality behind the works.

Groningen.

J. A. FALCONER.

### Brief Mention.

*Der Einfluss des nördlichen Dialektes im Mittlenglischen auf die entstehende Hochsprache.* Von AGNES PEITZ. (Bonner Studien zur englischen Philologie, xx.) pp. 133. Bonn: Hanstein. 1933. RM. 6.50.

Agnes Peitz has examined a number of fourteenth and fifteenth century documents (literary and official) from Yorkshire and compared them with London documents of the same period, with a view to establishing her thesis that the inflexion of Modern Standard English is based on that of northern dialects, while its phonology is based on that of dialects south of the Humber. The investigation does not take us very far, since many possibilities are neglected, and the material is hardly full enough to bring conviction, though the parallel-column arrangement elicits some points of interest. There is very little discussion or considered statement, and the reader is for the most part left to draw his own conclusions. The printing and proof-reading is better than that of many foreign monographs of the present day. — M. S. S.

## Bibliography

## LANGUAGE

*Growth and Structure of the English Language.* By O. JESPERSEN. 8th edition. Leipzig: Teubner. 1935. Geh. RM. 4.50, geb. RM. 5.40. [See Brief Mention, April 1935.]

*Wortweiser (Index verborum) zu den bisher erschienenen Teilen der historischen Grammatik der englischen Sprache von Dr. Karl Luick.* Von E. WIESSNER. 66 S. 4°. Wien: Gerold & Co. 1934. RM. 7.—.

*Der Stil König Alfreds.* Von L. BORINSKI. E. Stud. zur Psychologie der Rede. (Sächs. Forschungsinstitut in Leipzig. Forsch. inst. für neuere Philologie. 3. Angl. Abteilung. Bd. 5.). 316 S. Leipzig: Tauchnitz. RM. 15.—.

*Studies in Bishop Wærferth's Translation of the Dialogues of Gregory the Great.* By B. J. TIMMER. 122 pp. Wageningen: H. Veenman & Zonen. 1934. [A review will appear.] (Groningen diss.)

*Das altenglische Bussbuch* (sog. Confessionale Pseudo-Egberti). Ein Beitrag zu den kirchlichen Gesetzen der Angelsachsen. Kritische Textausgabe nebst Nachweis der mittellateinischen Quellen, sprachlicher Untersuchung und Glossar. Von R. SPINDLER. xii + 211 pp. Leipzig: Tauchnitz. 1934. RM. 14.—. [A review will appear.]

*The Synonyms for "Child", "Boy", "Girl" in Old English.* An etymological-semasiological investigation. By HILDING BÄCK. (Lund Studies in English, II.) xvi + 273 pp. Lund: Gleerup 1934. 10 kronor. [A review will appear.]

*Altenglische Grammatik.* Von E. KIECKERS. xx + 199 pp. München: Max Hueber. 1935. RM. 5.20. [A review will appear.]

*Geschichte des unbestimmten Artikels im Alt- und Frühmittelenglischen.* Von P. SÜSSKAND. (Studien zur englischen Philologie LXXXV.) x + 187 pp. Halle: Niemeyer. 1935. RM. 7.—. [A review will appear.]

*Das personalpronomen der 3. Person in spätag. und frühmittelenglischen Texten.* Ein Beitrag zur altenglischen Dialektgeographie. Von B. GERICKE und W. GREUL. (Palaestra 193.) vii + 90 + vi + 54 pp. Leipzig: Mayer & Müller. 1934. RM. 11.—. [A review will appear.]

*The Development of Ablaut in the Strong Verbs of the East Midland Dialects of Middle English.* By J. F. RETTGER. (Language Dissertations publ. by the Linguistic Society of America, no. XVIII.) 186 pp. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania. 1934. [A review will appear.]

*Der Wortschatz des mittelenglischen Epos Genesis und Exodus mit grammatischer Einleitung.* Von G. LINKE. (Palaestra 197.) 165 pp. Leipzig: Mayer & Müller. 1935. RM. 4.80 [A review will appear.]

*Contributions to the Study of French Loanwords in Middle English.* By E. SLETTENGREN. Part I. 136 pp. Örebro 1932. Printed by Lindhska Boktryckeriet. Price? [A review will appear.]

*A History of Foreign Words in English.* By M. S. SERJANTSON. ix + 354 pp. London: Kegan Paul. 1935. 21/— net. [A review will appear.]

*On the Development of English Verbs from Latin and French Past Participles.* By OLE REUTER. (Societas Scientiarum Fennica. Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum. VI. 6.) 170 pp. Helsingfors, Akademiska Bokhandeln, 1934. 53 mk. [A review will appear.]

*A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue.* From the Twelfth Century to the End of the Seventeenth. By SIR WILLIAM A. CRAIGIE. Part IV., Broket-Chamber. 12 × 9¼, pp. 361-480. Chicago: University Press. London: Milford. 21s. n.

*The Scottish National Dictionary.* Designed partly on Regional lines and partly on Historical principles, and containing all the Scottish Words known to be in use or to have been in use since c. 1700. Edited by WILLIAM GRANT. Volume I, Part III. Consists of the Vocabulary from Aye-Beef. pp. 109 + 110 + pp. 1-78. Volume I., Part IV. Consists of the Vocabulary from Beefer-Bitteraks. pp. 79-142. 13 × 10¼. Edinburgh: Scottish National Dictionary Association.

*English Pronunciation from the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Century.* Selected and edited by C. DAVIES. xiii + 167 pp. London: Dent. 1934. 6s. net. [A review will appear.]

*Englische Sprachphilosophie im späteren 18. Jahrhundert.* (Neujahrsblatt der literarischen Gesellschaft Bern. N. F. H. 11.) Von O. FUNKE. 161 S. gr. 8°. Bern: Francke. 1934. RM. 6.80.

*The Place-Names of Essex.* By P. H. REANEY. Under the General Editorship of A. MAWER & F. M. STENTON. (English Place-Name Society, Vol. XII.) lxii + 698 pp. Cambridge University Press. 1935. 25/- net. [A review will appear.]

*Place-Names of Scotland.* By JAMES B. JOHNSTON. Third Edition. 9 × 6¼, xvi + 335 pp. John Murray. 15s. n.

*Introduction to a Survey of Missouri Place-Names.* By R. L. RAMSAY, A. W. READ, and E. G. LEECH. (The University of Missouri Studies, IX, 1.) 124 pp. Columbia: University of Missouri. 1934. \$1.25. [See Brief Mention, Oct. 1935.]

*The German Influence on the English Vocabulary.* By C. T. CARR. (S. P. E. Tract No. XLII.) 35-95 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1934. 3/6 net. [A review will appear.]

*The Dutch Influence on the English Vocabulary.* By G. N. CLARK. (S. P. E. Tract No. XLIV.) 161-172 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1935. 1/6 net. [A review will appear.]

*Die alttestamentliche Namengebung in England.* Von A. MEIER. (Kölner Angl. Arbeiten, 22.) 55 pp. Leipzig: Tauchnitz. 1934. RM. 2.50.

*Der Bau der englischen Sprache.* Von G. WEBER. (Palaestra 192.) iv + 135 pp. Leipzig: Mayer & Müller. 1934. RM. 8.—. [A review will appear.]

*An Outline of English Philology, chiefly for Irish Students.* By J. J. HOGAN. Dublin: The Educational Company of Ireland, Ltd. 3/—.

*The Broadcast Word.* By A. LLOYD JAMES. 207 pp. London: Kegan Paul. 1934. 7/6 net. [See Review, April 1935.]

*A Phonological Analysis of Present-day Standard English.* By B. TRNKA. (Studies in English by Members of the English Seminar of the Charles University, Prague. Fifth Volume.) viii + 187 pp. Prague, 1935. 36 Kc. [A review will appear.]

*On Defining the Phoneme.* By W. FREEMAN TWADDELL. (Language Monographs publ. by the Linguistic Society of America, XVI.) 62 pp. Baltimore: Waverly Press, Inc. 1935.

*The Role of Intonation in Spoken English.* By M. SCHUBIGER. (Veröffentlichungen der Handels-Hochschule St. Gallen. Reihe B Heft 1.) vi + 74 pp. St. Gallen, Fehrsche Buchhandlung. 1935. Swiss fr. 4.—. [A review will appear.]

*An Outline of English Phonetics.* By D. JONES. 4th ed. x + 326 pp. Leipzig: Teubner. 1934. Geh. RM. 6.40, geb. RM. 7.80.

'This print is substantially identical with the issue of 1932.' See *E. S.*, XV (1933), 45-48.

*The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English.* Adapted by H. W. FOWLER and F. G. FOWLER from the Oxford Dictionary. Third Edition revised by H. W. FOWLER and H. G. LE MESURIER. 7½ × 5¼, xv + 1,507 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press. London: Milford. 1934. 7s. 6d. n. [A review will appear.]

*The Pocket Oxford Dictionary of Current English.* Compiled by F. G. FOWLER and H. W. FOWLER. New Edition. Revised by H. W. FOWLER and H. G. LE MESURIER. 6¾ × 4, xvi. + 1,024 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press. London: Milford. 1934. 3s. 6d. n. [A review will appear.]

*S.P.E. Tract No. XLIII. H. W. Fowler.* By G. G. COULTON. Oxford: Clarendon Press. London: Milford. 3s. 6d.

# Amphi-Atlantic English

The comments of the past two hundred years on the differences between the English of England and the English of America are reflections of national prejudices and linguistic misconceptions more often than they are of the actual state of the language. Nevertheless these attitudes, misguided as they may be, have been potent factors in determining the course that the two branches of the language have taken. What at first seems like petty bickering has real social significance when viewed in a long perspective. It is the purpose of the present study to give this perspective and not to add another skirmish to the perpetual conflict. The opinions quoted here, though trivial in themselves, are symptomatic of the attitudes that have created the tension between the two main branches of the English language. The material will be treated in the following four sections: (1) attitudes of the eighteenth century, (2) British criticism of the nineteenth century, (3) the American response to the criticism, and (4) tendencies in recent years.

## I

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Englishmen took pride in the rapid spread of the English language. In 1668 one writer boasted that the language was "stretching its alliances as far as our Arms, or cōmerce have ever extended."<sup>1</sup> The British travellers in America almost uniformly expressed astonishment at not finding the dialect that they were accustomed to in the rural regions of England.<sup>2</sup> Lord Wycombe, in the colonies in 1791-92, found, for instance, that "Eloquence in their assemblies appeared to him to consist in fluency and propriety."<sup>3</sup> British opinion of this early period may be summed up in the words of the Scot James Adams in 1799: "The Anglo-Americans speak English with great classical purity. Dialect in general is there less prevalent than in Britain, except among the poor slaves."<sup>4</sup> Occasionally the travellers recorded strange linguistic experiences. Thus J. F. Smyth, while in Virginia, was surprised to find that the word *meat* had made the semantic shift from "food" to "flesh-food." As he wrote:

---

<sup>1</sup> *English Orthographie, or The Art of Right Spelling, Reading, Pronouncing, and Writing all Sorts of English Words*, Oxford, 1668, sig. A4 recto.

<sup>2</sup> Their comment has been assembled by the writer in his article, "British Recognition of American Speech in the Eighteenth Century," *Dialect Notes*, VI (July, 1933), 313-334. Throughout the present study I have for the most part avoided using the material found in that article and in H. L. Mencken's *The American Language* (1919-23), G. M. Tucker's *American English* (1921), G. P. Krapp's *The English Language in America* (1925), and *The Beginnings of American English*, ed. M. M. Mathews (1931).

<sup>3</sup> John Henry Petty, later the 2nd Marquess of Landsdowne, in a letter of March 24, 1792, in *Memoir of the Life ... of James Currie, M. D.*, London, 1831, II, 78-9.

<sup>4</sup> *The Pronunciation of the English Language Vindicated from imputed Anomaly and Caprice*, Edinburgh, 1799, pp. 146-47. Cf. also the anonymous *History of North America, containing an exact Account of their first Settlements*, London, 1776, p. 33: "These colonists, in whatever spot chance or discernment may have placed them, all preserve, with a prejudice not to be worn out, their mother tongue, the partialities and customs of their own country."

Being always particularly careful of my horses, and they having fared very indifferently the night before, I ordered the hostler to give them plenty of meat. The man stared at me, and asked if they would eat it? Being somewhat irritated at his seeming impertinence, and out of humour by fatigue, indisposition, and want of rest, I answered, that I desired he would make the experiment, and immediately, turning away from him, went into the house.

In a few minutes, on looking out at the window, I was surprised to find all the people of the place in the road before the door; and going out to enquire into the cause of their assembling there, I met the hostler and my boy, with each a large piece of bacon in his hand, telling me the horses would not eat a morsel of it.

They acquainted me, that it was to see the horses eat meat, by which they understood *bacon*, that excited the people's curiosity, and had drawn them forth into the road. I laughed heartily, and directed the hostler, since the poor silly horses could not be prevailed on to taste his bacon, to give them whatever else they would choose to eat, and as much of it as they pleased.<sup>5</sup>

The book-reviewers, on guard for purity of vocabulary, presented an exception to the general attitude: they began the merry game of sniping at American words.<sup>6</sup>

An incident involving Dr. Johnson throws some light on the English attitude towards the diverging American speech. In 1778 the American artists Benjamin West and Gilbert Stuart were at work in London, and the episode is preserved as follows:

Dr. Johnson called one morning on Mr. West to converse with him on American affairs. After some time Mr. West said that he had a young American living with him from whom he might derive some information, and introduced Stuart. The conversation continued, (Stuart being thus invited to take a part in it,) — when the doctor observed to Mr. West, that the young man spoke very good English — and turning to Stuart, rudely asked him where he had learned it. Stuart very promptly replied, "Sir, I can better tell you where I did not learn it — it was not from your dictionary." Johnson seemed aware of his own abruptness, and was not offended.<sup>7</sup>

In a letter of August 19, 1784, Benjamin Franklin, while in France, wrote to the London publisher William Strahan pointing out the value of the American market:

By the way, the rapid Growth and extension of the English language in America, must become greatly Advantageous to the booksellers, and holders of Copy-Rights in England. A vast audience is assembling there for English Authors, ancient, present, future, our People doubling every twenty Years; and this will demand large and of course profitable Impressions of your most valuable Books.<sup>8</sup>

In America the prevailing attitude was one of concern for the purity of

<sup>5</sup> *A Tour in the United States of America*, London, 1784, I, 77-78. The new meaning was already rather well established in England.

<sup>6</sup> Note, e.g., the review of Timothy Dwight's *Conquest of Canaan* in the *European Magazine*, XIII (Feb., 1788), 82: "In his introduction of some new words, and the still greater licence of giving new significations to some old ones, our author, we think, has been rash and unhappy." Also the review of John Marshall's *Life of Gen. Washington*, in the *Oxford Review*, I (March, 1807), 282: "The author has at times employed words and phrases, which, in England, would neither be considered chaste nor classical." When one of Noah Webster's works was reprinted in London, *Sentimental and Humorous Essays, conducive to Economy and Happiness* (1799), the London editor wrote (p. 4): "It will be observed that many Localities occur in the Course of this Work. These however are retained, as it would have been uncandid to cover American Ground with English Leaves."

<sup>7</sup> Charles Fraser, the miniature painter of South Carolina, quoted in William Dunlap, *History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States*, New York, 1834, I, 181-82.

<sup>8</sup> *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. Albert Henry Smyth, New York, 1906, IX, 263.

English. A professor at William and Mary College, Virginia, wrote an English grammar in 1721 in which he deplored the prevalence of dialect in England and gave praise to the speech of "the *Inhabitants* of the *Plantations* (even the Native Negroes)."<sup>9</sup> The disapproval of Scottish speech is set forth in a letter of July 8, 1741, by a planter of Virginia to his London agent: "If possible, I desire you will send me by Wilcox a School-Master to teach my Children, to read & write & Cypher ... The usual wages here for a Latin Master from Scotland is £ 20 a year, but they commonly teach the Children the Scotch dialect which they never can wear off."<sup>10</sup> In his "Account of the College and Academy of Philadelphia," printed in 1758, William Smith, Provost of the College, held that the study of English had been neglected, and continued:

But in the circumstances of this province, such a neglect would have been still more inexcusable, than in any other part of the *British* dominions. For we are so great a mixture of people, from almost all corners of the world, necessarily speaking a variety of language and dialects, that true pronunciation and writing of our own language might soon be lost among us, without such a previous care to preserve it in the rising generation.<sup>11</sup>

The early discussions of Americanisms, by Jonathan Boucher in 1770-74 and by John Witherspoon in 1781,<sup>12</sup> were made largely to point out the "improprieties" that the Americans had fallen into. In a letter of April 20, 1789, Jeremy Belknap discussed such provincialisms as *Yankee* and *cantankerous* and concluded: "The English may laugh at us as they please; but they ought to remember that their ancestors and ours were the same, and many things which they ridicule in us were absolutely derived from them."<sup>13</sup> The ultra-patriotic group, whose spokesman was Noah Webster, rejoiced in the divergence between American speech and English speech. On July 21, 1786, Webster delivered a lecture in Boston entitled: "Some Differences between the English and Americans considered. Corruption of Language in England. Reasons why the English should not be Standard, either in Language or Manners."<sup>14</sup> With a group of other young men Webster organized a Philological Society in New York in 1788, "for the purpose of ascertaining and improving the *American Tongue*."<sup>15</sup>

An English traveller named John Davis had lived in America only two years when he wrote a novel entitled *The Farmer of New-Jersey* (New York, 1800), dealing with the American scene. He was not successful, however, in his portrayal of American speech, for a New York critic wrote of it: "The manners described, and scenes exhibited in this little volume, do not *characterize* a farmer of New-Jersey. He would not talk of *last Michaelmas*."<sup>16</sup> Thus the English misrepresentation of American speech in fiction dates from the eighteenth century.

<sup>9</sup> Hugh Jones, *An Accidence to the English Tongue*, London, 1724, pp. 10-15.

<sup>10</sup> William Beverly, in a MS. letter book, New York Public Library.

<sup>11</sup> *American Magazine*, I (Oct., 1758), 631.

<sup>12</sup> See the writer's "Boucher's Linguistic Pastoral of Colonial Maryland," *Dialect Notes*, VI (1933), 353-60, and Chapter II of Mathews' *The Beginnings of American English*.

<sup>13</sup> Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, 5th series, III (1877), 118.

<sup>14</sup> Mrs. E. E. F. Ford, *Notes on the Life of Noah Webster*, New York, 1912, I, 160-61.

<sup>15</sup> See the writer's "The Philological Society of New York, 1788," *American Speech*, IX (April, 1934), 131-36.

<sup>16</sup> *The American Review and Literary Journal*, I (Jan.-March, 1801), 83. For Davis's notes on American English in his *Travels of Four Years and a Half in the United States of America*, London, 1803, see Kemp Malone, "John Davis on American English," *American Speech*, IV (August, 1929), 473-76.

English opinions about American speech have been so varied and contradictory that it is difficult to find a pattern into which they fall. Many of them, no doubt, represent the accident of personal temperament, and others reflect a particular political or nationalistic bias. More significantly, the pronouncements were often the result of certain linguistic misconceptions. One of these was the dogma that dialect is a degraded form of the standard language; and since travellers found no broad rustic dialect in America comparable to that of Somerset or Yorkshire, they sometimes praised American speech liberally. Another dogma was that the word-stock of a language is a settled deposit and that all coinages are reprehensible; therefore other critics, upon finding new words in America, reported the "degradation" and "debasement" of American speech. The reviewers fell in the latter class, and it was their criticisms that so angered the Americans.

In 1803 one "English Gentleman lately returned from America" gave as his report: "One third of the American Newspapers ... is filled with uncouth advertisements, written, in general, in language, and abounding in phrases, wholly unintelligible to the English reader."<sup>17</sup> This called forth a reply from another Englishman, who had lived in America for twenty years:

Whatever trash may occasionally occupy the political department, their advertisements and domestic occurrences have no other than *local* claims to originality; the phraseology usually adopted generally being a faithful imitation of that used in this country. Perhaps, in the advertisements, the substitution of the words *plantation* for farm, *township* for parish, and *spirits* for rum, and a few other deviations from the English standard, were those which this fastidious observer considered so uncouth, as to authorise his assertion, that they are "wholly unintelligible to be English reader."<sup>18</sup>

At a conversazione at the home of Sir Joseph Banks in London on June 30, 1805, the noted geographer Major James Rennel expressed a favourable opinion on American innovations. A young professor from Yale College reported him as saying:

He thought that notwithstanding the efforts of the French to make their language the polite tongue of Europe, the English would ultimately become the most prevalent language in the world. This he inferred from the immense countries in Asia and America which were already settled or fast settling with English people. While conversing on this subject, he uttered the following extraordinary sentiment. He said, that *the Americans had improved the English language, by the introduction of some words and phrases very energetic and concise, instead of diffuse circumlocution.* To my remark that his sentiments were much more favourable to us than those of the English reviewers, he replied that they were not always the most candid men.<sup>19</sup>

The reviewers, in such periodicals as the *British Critic*, the *Critical Review*, and the *Eclectic Review*, expressed no such sympathy, but pounced eagerly on new words and held them up to scorn, "because," as one of them wrote, "we wish, if possible, to stem that torrent of barbarous phraseology with which the American writers threaten to destroy the purity of the English

<sup>17</sup> "Animadversions on the Present State of Literature and Taste in the United States," *Monthly Magazine*, XIV (Suppl., 1803), 626.

<sup>18</sup> Letter signed "Vesputius", *ibid.*, XV (April, 1803), 213.

<sup>19</sup> Benjamin Silliman, *A Journal of Travels in England, Holland, and Scotland ... in the Years 1805 and 1806*, 2nd ed., Boston, 1812, I, 227.

language."<sup>20</sup> A typical attack is that of the *Edinburgh Review* in dealing with Joel Barlow's *Columbiad*\*:

We have often heard it reported, that our transatlantic brethren were beginning to take it amiss that their language should still be called English; and truly we must say, that Mr. Barlow has gone far to take away that ground of reproach. The groundwork of his speech, perhaps, may be English, as that of the Italian is Latin; but the variations amount already to more than a change of dialect; and really make a glossary necessary for untraveller readers. As this is the first specimen which has come to our hands of any considerable work composed in the American tongue, it may be gratifying to our philological readers, if we make a few remarks upon it.

It is distinguished from the original English, in the first place, by a great multitude of words which are radically and entirely new, and as utterly foreign as if they had been adopted from the Hebrew or Chinese; in the second place, by a variety of new compounds and combinations of words, or roots of words, which are still known in the parent tongue; and, thirdly, by the perversion of a still greater number of English words from their proper use or signification, by employing nouns substantive for verbs, for instance, and adjectives for substantives, &c. We shall set down a few examples of each.<sup>21</sup>

Then followed the horrible exhibit. The traveller John Lambert treated Barlow's work in similar vein:

Mr. Barlow has also suffered his better judgement to be influenced by a desire which has often evinced itself in many of his countrymen, of establishing what they denominate an "American language," but which, in fact, is nothing more than pedantic and distorted English. Many of these American expressions have crept into the *Columbiad*, to the utter disfiguration of several otherwise beautiful passages; and that which ought to have been elegant and sublime, is nothing but mere fustian and bombast.<sup>22</sup>

A more moderate position was taken by the statesman Sir William Scott, later Lord Stowell, in a letter of May 10, 1821:

I will not deny that some of your deflections from our modes of speech are real additions and improvements, though I should think that the safest course is a cautious adherence to our purest modes of speaking and writing. If every man has a right to coin words, great corruption must follow, such a right ripening into a habit.<sup>23</sup>

The British travellers in America, directing their attention to the spoken rather than to the written language, were more favourable to American speech than is commonly realized. Thus the British minister Stratford Canning, who landed in America in 1820, reported: "At Annapolis red-brick houses saluted my eyes, and Saxon words, though uttered with a difference, came home to my ears, as if they had followed me across the waters, and were only

<sup>20</sup> *Annual Review*, VII (1808), 241.

\* See E. S., August 1935, pp. 155-6. — Ed

<sup>21</sup> *Edinburgh Review*, XV (Oct., 1809), 26. Cf. Leon Howard in *American Speech*, II (1927), 497-99. Numerous other criticisms of the same tenor are quoted in John Pickering, *A Vocabulary or Collection of Words and Phrases which have been Supposed to be Peculiar to the United States of America*, Boston, 1816, pp. 12-15, and in William B. Cairns, *British Criticisms of American Writings 1783-1815*, Madison Wis., 1918, pp. 35-37.

<sup>22</sup> *Travels through Canada and the United States of North America in the Years 1806, 1807, & 1808*, 2nd ed., London, 1813, II, 460-61. Cf. also his reference (II, 506-7) to "Americans who are desirous of introducing what they call an American language; but unless they resort to the *Catabaw*, *Chactaw*, or *Kickapoo* dialects, I am sure they will never accomplish it by murdering the English tongue."

<sup>23</sup> Quoted in Mary Orne Pickering, *Life of John Pickering*, Boston, 1887, p. 305.

a trifle the worse for wind and weather."<sup>24</sup> Joseph Pickering wrote in his diary for June 22, 1825, that he found

... no provincialisms, and but few peculiarities in their language. All speak the English language, plainly and mostly correct, with some few exceptions, chiefly in pronunciation, which they have generally adopted, as improvements or corrections of Walker — thus in *engine*, *acorn*, *excellent*, and some others, the accent is placed on the second syllable. Thames is by them pronounced *Thaymes*.<sup>25</sup>

The traveller James Boardman, having visited America in 1829, listed many expressions strange to him and concluded that most of them were survivals from an earlier period of the language. He wrote :

The variations from the present usages of the mother-country in respect to many words and expressions really English can only be accounted for by supposing the language now used in America to be the same imported by the pilgrim fathers and others to the period of the separation of the governments, since which the Americans have ceased to look to England as their model.

This idea is favoured by the almost total alienation of attachment, to use the mildest term, to the parent country which distinguishes the bulk of the inhabitants of the States in the present day, and which disinclines them to study the customs of their progenitors.

We found chests of drawers still called bureaux, dress-makers manteau-makers, sofas sittees, cups of tea dishes of tea; and a number of other things designated by names long out of fashion in genteel society in England.

That the Americans have shown judgment in the coining of many new words will be readily allowed, as well as that they have abundant authority in the best English writers for their present uses and significations of old ones.<sup>26</sup>

General Thomas Perronet Thompson took the invasion of American words with calm spirit :

Not to be unjust upon this head, there are many Americanisms which in the course of time will work their way into the language of England; as they have as good a right to do, as any other innovations that have force or point to recommend them. It will not be long before to "progress" will be written without being marked with inverted commas as a joke. The verbs "approbate," "consider" (in the sense of "believe"), and even "guess," are making their way gradually in their peculiar senses, with for the present more or less of implied merriment in the user. "Grade," a gallicism imported from America, is in unrebuked use by virtue of its usefulness. A general officer's "family," meaning his "staff," is become a dandified phrase in vogue rather than the contrary. There are *mispronunciations* however, which the English will never submit to; for example, a member of the Senate will never be excused for calling territory "Terry Tory." The most striking peculiarity of an American (except that it is common to all colonists), is his perpetual use of "our".<sup>27</sup>

The blue-stocking Harriet Martineau was obliged to use a speaking-tube because of her partial deafness, and while touring in America in 1836 she gave the following judgement of the language she heard :

I shall have no bad tales to tell in England about the peculiarities of American speech; for the truth is, it is quite a holiday treat to an unready ear like mine to meet with intelligible

<sup>24</sup> Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Life of the Right Honourable Stratford Canning, Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe*, London, 1888, I, 298. The traveller Adam Hodgson wrote in the *Christian Observer*, XXII (August, 1822), 477, concerning American women of the upper middle class: "Their tone of voice, which is generally a little shrill, and their mode of pronouncing a few particular words, are the peculiarities of manner which I think would be most remarked upon in the best society in England."

<sup>25</sup> *Inquiries of an Emigrant*, new ed., London, 1831, p. 34.

<sup>26</sup> *America, and the Americans*, London, 1833, pp. 18-19.

<sup>27</sup> *Westminster Review*, XIX (Oct., 1833), p. 373. Authorship identified by the reprinting of it under the title "Conversational Idioms of America" in his *Exercises, Political and Others*, London, 1842, III, 470.

English all over this great country, after being perplexed with the provincialisms with which one is assailed as often as one takes a journey in England.<sup>28</sup>

From the next decade come the two following reports by English travellers:

It has so often happened to me in our own island, without travelling into those parts of Wales, Scotland, or Ireland, where they talk a perfectly distinct language, to encounter provincial dialects which it is difficult to comprehend, that I wonder at finding the people here [Boston] so very English. If the metropolis of New England be a type of a large part of the United States, the industry of Sam Slick, and other writers, in collecting together so many diverting Americanisms and so much original slang, is truly great, or their inventive powers still greater.<sup>29</sup>

As to the often-alleged improprieties of speech and liberties taken with the Queen's English amongst Americans, I need not be suspected of partiality to the Republicans, when I say, without hesitation, that our language is spoken much better and more correctly in all parts of America than it is in England. There are no provincialisms in the States, where the abominable dialects of Somerset, York, and Lancaster, entirely disappear; and, extensive as the country is, one uniform correctness obtains in speaking the English language.<sup>30</sup>

The Americans preferred to overlook such comments and dwelt instead upon the diatribes of reviewers and the sarcasms of Mrs. Trollope and her kind. She recorded the American belief that the English have an "utter incapacity of speaking English" and continued: "We really must engage a few American professors, or we shall lose all trace of classic purity in our language."<sup>31</sup> Some travellers indulged in ominous prophecies such as that of John Mactaggart in 1829:

The great Dr. Johnson, when he was arranging his noble national Dictionary, did not seem to be aware that he had so many mortal enemies at his door. ... Here then is the ruination of our classic English language already begun. It is nonsense to imagine that our authors will there live immortal in their native strains.<sup>32</sup>

Similarly the Scot Thomas Hamilton predicted in 1833:

Unless the present progress of change be arrested, by an increase of taste and judgment in the more educated classes, there can be no doubt that, in another century, the dialect of the Americans will become utterly unintelligible to an Englishman, and that the nation will be cut off from the advantages arising from their participation in British literature. If they contemplate such an event with complacency, let them go on and prosper; they have only to "progress" in their present course, and their grandchildren bid fair to speak a jargon as novel and peculiar as the most patriotic American linguist can desire.<sup>33</sup>

What is perhaps the high point of English fulmination against American speech was reached by Ruskin when he wrote in 1873, that

England taught the Americans all they have of speech, or thought, hitherto. What thoughts they have not learned from England are foolish thoughts; what words they have not learned from England, unseemly words; the vile among them not being able even to be humorous parrots, but only obscene mocking-birds.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Letter quoted in M. O. Pickering, *Life J. Pickering*, p. 432.

<sup>29</sup> Charles Lyell, *Travels in North America in the Years 1841-2*, New York, 1852, I, 4, diary entry of Aug. 2, 1841.

<sup>30</sup> Thomas Horton James, *Rambles in the United States and Canada during the Year 1845*, London, 2nd ed., 1847, pp. 122-23.

<sup>31</sup> Mrs. Frances Trollope, *Domestic Manners of the Americans*, 2nd. ed., London, 1832, II, 166-67.

<sup>32</sup> *Three Years in Canada: An Account of the Actual State of the Country in 1826-7-8*, London, 1829, II, 324.

<sup>33</sup> *Men and Manners in America*, Edinburgh, 1833, I, 235.

<sup>34</sup> *Fors Clavigera*, No. XLII, New York, 1890, IV, 73. On English attitudes in these years, see Fitzedward Hall, "The Philological Obscurantism of English Newspapers," in the *Nation*, LI (Nov. 20, 1890), 401-02.

More nearly typical of English opinion was an insular attitude that came to the fore in the latter half of the nineteenth century. According to this, Americanisms do well enough in their own habitat, but become pernicious only when they invade England. In the words of the folk-lorist Andrew Lang :

I, for one, have never been able to see why Americans should not use Americanisms. It is a free country, and has a right to develop its own language in its own way. F[itzedward] H[all] says that among the mass of his people the English language "has degenerated into a most disgraceful condition." Then it must be full of Americanisms, and F. H. might kindly give us a tranquillising name for these flowers of speech. As long as they bud and blossom in America only, they are of mere philological interest to us; but when they begin to invade our language, like the American weed in our waters, surely we may, inoffensively, try to check their profusion? or is this rude and offensive?<sup>35</sup>

### III

In answer to the British criticisms many Americans used the argument of *tu quoque*. If the speech of some Americans had an unpleasant twang, so did that of the Cockneys; if Americans had their *guesses* and *calculates* and *reckons*, so did the English have their idiosyncracies. Thus the important literary figure Royall Tyler in 1809 pointed out a counterpart of the American *guess* :

A native of England may be distinguished as readily by the frequent use of the adjective *clever* as the native of New-England by that of the verb *guess*. It was not until I had been some months in London that I discovered how often I exposed myself to ridicule by the repeated use of this verb. My new friend B— ... pointed out to me this *provincialism*, as he styled it. What is the reason, he inquired, that you New-Englandmen are always *guessing*? I replied, coolly, because we imagine it makes us appear very *clever* fellows. Now, here, to my astonishment, B— was in the same predicament as myself; although he had repeated *clever* and *clever fellow* perhaps twenty times in this interview, he had not noticed it: he was a gentleman of too refined a taste to advocate this *Alsatia* term, but would hardly be persuaded of its exuberant use until I had drawn his attention to it in conversation with several of his countrymen — and was at length obliged to send him half a sheet of extracts, in prose and verse, to convince him of its absurd recurrence in the modern English fine writing. But B— is really a *clever* fellow, learned and candid, terms seldom united by a London copula, and we agreed to assist each other in divesting our style of these silly colloquialisms. Soon after B— said to me, with earnestness, "now you have read Boswell, you must acknowledge Dr. Johnson to have been a very *clever* fellow." "I *guess* he was," I replied.<sup>36</sup>

A grammarian of the West Indies claimed that "the provincial dialect of the illiterate in London is, of all others, the most noxious to our tongue, because the people in general are apt to imagine that the very best English is spoken in the capital, as it really is by the learned; tho' many, even of these, heedlessly practise some of the cockney vulgarisms, as some years' residence in that chief metropolis has convinced me."<sup>37</sup> The Americans even indulged in satire on English pronunciation. An English gentleman, Captain Mandaville, was made to say :

By the boye, hall the hactin in Amareka is werry orrid. You're honely in, the hinfancy of the istoryonic hart you know; your performers never haspirate the haitch in sich vords for instance as hink and hoats, and leave out the *w* in wice wanity you know; and make nothink of homittin the *k* in somethink.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>35</sup> *The Academy*, XLVII (March 2, 1895), 193.

<sup>36</sup> *The Yankey in London*, New York, 1809, pp. 104-06. As a travel account this is a literary fiction, for Tyler had never been to England.

<sup>37</sup> Duncan Mackintosh and his two Daughters, *A Plain, Rational, and Patriotic Essay on English Grammar*, London, 1808, p. xxiv.

<sup>38</sup> "Sayings and Doings, a Fragment of a Farce," in *The American Comic Annual*, quoted by Mrs. Trollope, *Domestic Manners*, II, 167.

When the traveller Capt. Frederick Marryat said to an American lady, "Why do you draw out your words in that way?" she replied: "Well, I'd drawl all the way from Maine to Georgia, rather than *clip* my words as you English people do."<sup>39</sup>

Even in the rank coinage of words the English were accused of taking greater license than the Americans. In 1817 Noah Webster declared, "I can furnish as long a catalogue of the changes introduced into England, as any Englishman can of *our* deviations."<sup>40</sup> A professor at Yale College wrote in 1829: "As to new words, whoever will compare the productions of the American, with those of the English press, and especially of the periodical press, will soon be satisfied that much more attention is paid to the authority of good writers, and to the decision of lexicographers, in the United States, than in England." He took as a sample the last two issues of the London *Quarterly Review* and culled from them dozens of words like these (at that time not in the dictionaries): *absenteeism*, *beflattered*, *buccaneered*, *cognizant*, *devilets*, *dupery*, *faithworthiness*, *grindingly*, *ill-timed*, *metapolitics*, *recriminative*, *sheik*, *theopathic* and *unapostolic*. He then continued:

The periodical press of Great Britain is actually running riot in language. We have nothing like this in the United States. More new words, it is believed, have been brought into use in England within comparatively a few years, most of which are wholly unnecessary, than in this country, with all its new institutions, from the time of its first settlement.<sup>41</sup>

In an American parody of the British travel accounts, an Englishman was supposed to write: "and *abscamperated* as the 'Yankees' say;" his bed was "stuffed with what they call '*Corn Cobs*,'" "Every Yankee goes into what they call '*business*,'" he went "up a little narrow creek they call the Hudson" until he reached "a dirty village they call Albany;" the Fourth of July was "called by the Natives *Fundependence*;" and "some of the gals ... called me a ram-fib-y-ous sea monster."<sup>42</sup>

American travellers found that English speech left much to be desired. When he had gone only from Liverpool to Manchester, John Griscom, a professor of chemistry in New Jersey, wrote in a letter of May 10, 1818:

There are several peculiarities of accent and dialect, which cannot fail to arrest the attention of an American who has proceeded no further into England than we have. The frequent use of the expletive, "*you know*," is very remarkable, and appears to be almost universal. The suppression of the *h*, when it begins a word, and its employment when not necessary, is a practice equally remarkable. "This is the place, *you know*," said a very genteel woman in showing me an improved fire-place, "where we *ang* on the *hiron*s." This pronunciation finds its way, in a certain degree, into very respectable society. The sound of *u* like *oo*, is frequent, but this is perhaps peculiar to Lancashire. "*Wul*, *Betty*," said our Liverpool coachman to a woman who offered us some flowers, "how art *thoo* my *loov*. *I'm coomin doon* to *gie* thee a kiss." There is also a peculiar inflection of the voice, at the conclusion of a phrase, whether long or short, which conveys the impression of softness and kindness, and strikes my ear agreeably. It cannot be represented by the pen.<sup>43</sup>

More belligerent was the report of Orville Dewey in 1836:

The language — the vulgar dialect, that is — of Yorkshire, and Lancashire too, is almost

<sup>39</sup> *A Diary in America* [Part First], London, 1839, II, 222.

<sup>40</sup> *Letter to the Hon. John Pickering, on the Subject of his Vocabulary*, Boston, 1817, p. 54.

<sup>41</sup> J. L. Kingsley, in the *North American Review*, XXVIII (April, 1829), 462-63.

<sup>42</sup> *Lie-ary on America ! with Yarns on its Institutions*, Baltimore, 1840, pp. 11, 12, 14, 16, and 23. This was a satire on Capt. Marryat's *Diary in America, with Remarks on its Institutions*, quoted above.

<sup>43</sup> *A Year in Europe*, New York, 1823, I, 52-53.

as unintelligible to me as Chinese. The English critics upon our barbarous Americanisms, might well reserve their comments, and as many more as they can produce, for home consumption. They are troubled with a most patronising and paternal anxiety, lest the English language should be lost among our common people; it is lost among the common people of Yorkshire. They smile at our blunders when we say *sick* for *ill*, and *fine* instead of *nice*. They say that *fine* comes from the milliner's shop; we might reply that *nice* comes from the kitchen. They are shocked when we speak of a *fine* building; but nothing is more common in England than to hear of the grandest old ruin in the kingdom as "a *nice* old place." As to the word *sick*, it is ours and not the English use [note: For sickness of stomach] that accords with the standard usage of English literature: *sick*; afflicted with disease — is Johnson's definition.<sup>44</sup>

Noah Webster, who spent the year 1824 at Cambridge, was content to compare the speech of the educated classes in England and America :

It may be here remarked, that the purest English spoken in England is among educated people in the central parts of the island, including London, Oxford, and Cambridge. Many of the principal emigrants to this country [U. S.], on its first settlement, were educated at the English Universities, and they brought with them the purest pronunciation of the language. Such dialectal variations as were brought by the common people from different parts of England, have been nearly lost in this country; and now, educated men in New-England speak the language almost precisely as the same classes do in England. I have been several hours in company with gentlemen in Cambridge, England, without hearing any difference of pronunciation which would distinguish an Englishman from an American.<sup>45</sup>

Mrs. George Bancroft, the wife of the historian, then American ambassador, indulged in both praise and censure in a letter of January 2, 1847 :

This expression, "I shall *cultivate* you," we hear constantly, and it strikes me as oddly as our Western "*being raised*." Indeed, I hear improper Anglicisms constantly, and they have nearly as many as we have. The upper classes, here, however, do *speak* English so roundly and fully, giving each *letter* its due, that it pleases my ear amazingly.<sup>46</sup>

The American travellers did not relish having their speech praised. In his journal on June 16, 1815, George Ticknor, who represented the flower of Bostonian culture, recorded that an Englishman "expressed to me his surprise that I spoke so good English, and spoke it, too, without an accent, so that he should not have known me from an Englishman. This is the first instance I have yet met of this kind of ignorance. He is himself a cockney."<sup>47</sup> Similarly many years later a girl of one of the best New England families was complimented on her English by an officer in the British army, and when he asked if she was not peculiar in this respect among her countrywomen, she replied with dancing eyes : "Oh, yes, but then I had unusual advantages. There was an English missionary stationed near my tribe."<sup>48</sup>

Let us turn now to the more considered opinions of well-known Americans. The orator Edward Everett, who had travelled in England and who had been a professor at Harvard and was then a United States congressman, wrote in a letter of June 19, 1827 :

The great difference between the American & English mode of speaking the language has seemed to me, that we are apt to drawl, to pronounce every syllable. Great pains are generally taken in our Schools, for instance, to teach boys to pronounce extra-ordinary, min-i-a-ture &c. which are the things, that first strike an English ear. The misfortune is, that these pronunciations are thought by those who adopt them, as improvements on vulgar usage. ... I agree in the remark (in fact, I publicly made it some years ago) that the English

<sup>44</sup> *The Old World and the New*, New York, 1836, I, 86.

<sup>45</sup> *The Knickerbocker*, VII (March, 1836), 244.

<sup>46</sup> *Letters from England, 1846-1849*, New York, 1904, p. 53.

<sup>47</sup> George S. Hillard, *Life, Letters, and Journals of George Ticknor*, Boston, 1876, I, 58.

<sup>48</sup> Richard Grant White, *England Without and Within*, Boston, 1881, p. 366.

language is better spoken by the mass of the community here, than by the mass of the community in England. With respect to pronunciation, a provincial pronunciation is not essentially discreditable in England, because it there arises from other causes, than a neglected Education. It is merely a proof that a man was born & has grown up in a certain part of the country.<sup>49</sup>

From the pen of James Fenimore Cooper came the following argument :

In order to decide which nation speaks the English language best, it becomes necessary to refer to some standard. If it be assumed that the higher classes in London are always to set the fashion in pronunciation, and the best living writers in England are to fix the meaning of words, the point is clearly decided in their favour, since one cannot see on what principle they are to be put in the wrong. That the better company of London must set the fashion for the pronunciation of words in England, and indeed for the whole English empire, is quite plain; for, as this very company, comprises all those whose manners, birth, fortune, and political distinction, make them the objects of admiration, it becomes necessary to imitate their affectations, whether of speech or air, in order to create the impression that one belongs to their society. ...

There exists a very different state of things in America. If we had a great capital, like London, where men of leisure, and fortune, and education periodically assembled to amuse themselves, I think we should establish a fashionable aristocracy, too, which should give the mode to the forms of speech as well as to that of dress and deportment. ... But we have no such capital, nor are we likely, for a long time to come, to have one of sufficient magnitude to produce any great effect on the language. In those states where many men of leisure and education are to be found, there are large towns, in which they pass their winters, and where, of course, they observe all those forms which are more or less peculiar to themselves. The habits of polite life, and even the pronunciation of Boston, of New York, of Baltimore, and of Philadelphia, vary in many things, and a practised ear may tell a native of either of these places, from a native of any one of the others, by some little peculiarity of speech. There is yet no predominating influence to induce the fashionables of these towns to wish to imitate the fashionables of any other. If any place is to possess this influence, it will certainly be New York; but I think, on an examination of the subject, that it can be made to appear that an entirely different standard for the language must be established in the United States, from that which governs so absolutely in England. ...

There is not, probably, a man (of English descent) born in this country, who would not be perfectly intelligible to all whom he should meet in the streets of London, though a vast number of those he met in the streets of London would be nearly unintelligible to him. In fine, we speak our language, as a nation, better than any other people speak their language. When one reflects on the immense surface of country that we occupy, the general accuracy, in pronunciation and in the use of words, is quite astonishing. This resemblance in speech can only be ascribed to the great diffusion of intelligence, and to the inexhaustible activity of the population, which, in a manner, destroys space. ...

We do amend, and each year introduces a better and purer English into our country. We are obliged, as you may suppose, to have recourse to some standard to settle these contentions. What shall this standard be? It is not society, for that itself is divided on the disputed points; it cannot be the church, for there is none that will be acknowledged by all parties; it cannot be the stage, for that is composed of foreigners, and possesses little influence on morals, politics, or any thing else; nor the universities, for they are provincial, and parties to the dispute; nor congress, for that does not represent the fashion and education of the nation; nor the court, for there is none but the president, and he is often a hot partizan; nor the fashions of speech in England, for we often find as much fault with them as we do with our own. Thus, you see, we are reduced to the necessity of consulting reason, and authority, and analogy, and all the known laws of language, in order to arrive at our object. This we are daily doing, and I think the consequence will be, that, in another generation or two, far more reasonable English will be used in this country than exists here now. How far this melioration or purification of our language will affect the mother country, is another question.

It is, perhaps, twenty years too soon to expect that England will very complacently submit to receive opinions or fashions very directly from America.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>49</sup> MS. letter among the Noah Webster Papers, New York Public Library.

<sup>50</sup> *Notions of the Americans picked up by a Travelling Bachelor*, London, 1828, II, 161-67. This is put into the mouth of a friend but undoubtedly represents Cooper's own opinion.

A clergyman of Cincinnati, Timothy Flint, in 1835 undertook to interpret American literature to the English. He presented his opinion on language in the *Athenæum* as follows:

We have seen with no little astonishment that the recent English writers on the United States have almost uniformly represented the oral and written language of the country to be a *patois* as remote from pure English, as the creole French of the Canadas and the West Indies is from Parisian French. Now, in our opinion, it is beyond question, that there is less difference between the English of the common and educated classes throughout New England, than between the languages of the same classes among any other people under heaven. The collection of phrases, which has recently figured so much under the name of the Downing dialect, perhaps once existed there; but the English traveller, who should penetrate that country in every direction, expecting to find it the common speech of the people, would be surprised not to meet any traces of these ludicrous barbarisms. ... We have not a doubt, that the first remark which would be suggested to an honest, intelligent, and philosophical British observer, in travelling from Passamaquoddy to the Sabine, would be the uniformity of phrase upon similar subjects, in which all classes of people would be heard to express themselves. ...

Whence is this wonderful uniformity, this unquestionable general correctness in the use of the English language among a people of yesterday, spread over such an immense surface, in pursuits, condition, and training, so various, as those of the lumberers of Maine, the wheat growers of the middle states, the tobacco planters of Virginia and Kentucky, and the cultivators of cotton and cane in the south, with copious sprinklings of Dutch, German, and French emigrants permanently fixed among them? The Anglo-Americans are a busy, bustling, moving, enterprising, ever-travelling people, with a temperament inclining them to a sort of ubiquity. Their perpetually recurring elections, the necessity under which every young man, in whose breast is the slightest germ of ambition, finds himself placed, to be always ready to put forth an harangue adapted to the emergency, the ordeal of criticism which he there passes, imposed by rival aspirants and competitors, the universal diffusion of common schools, and the frequency of seminaries of more imposing names — in a word, the whole motive, impulse, and business of the people place him in a severe school, where words are the grand material, and their use the chief discipline for success in life. To acquire a copious and adroit use of words, is to an American an indispensable preliminary to the grand business of life.<sup>51</sup>

Men like Everett and Cooper and Flint attempted to give a reasonable basis for their opinions, but many others were content to follow in the path of uncritical patriotism. A spelling reformer of 1808 thus exhorted his countrymen:

People of America, sole and only sovereigns of a free nation on this globe, with you it rests, on you it depends, by an act of your sagacity, and that genius which imbibes with facility, and improves upon the works of man — for you it is to discard those nonsensical remains of an ignorant and barbarous antiquity; to assimilate instruction to the mild spirit of your laws — and as you have abolished sanguinary punishments, and thereby diminished crimes; stretch forth your hands in your might, abolish the scourge and rack, and torture of harmless childhood. Give the world one great and useful lesson more, and let the instruction of infancy be conducted with the same wisdom that directs your government. Bid your legislators take up the all-important subject. Bid them chuse a few select but capable men; not those who are by privilege denominated learned, but men of sense, who understand your language. Let these men, after mature deliberation and examination of the business, determine the number of simple, double and nasal sounds, and of simple articulations, which are to be found in your idiom. [Etc.] ... As to your objection, that England will not concur with you in reforming your monstrous alphabet, it is unworthy of a rational American, and therefore deserves no answer.<sup>52</sup>

Noah Webster became more conservative as he grew older, but he always retained the patriotic bias that he had learned in his youth during the American

<sup>51</sup> "Sketches of the Literature of the United States," *loc. cit.*, July 4, 1835, p. 511.

<sup>52</sup> Joseph Neef, *Sketch of a Plan and Method of Education ... suitable for the Offspring of a Free People*, Philadelphia, 1808, pp. 55-58.

Revolution. When Pickering's *Vocabulary of Americanisms* appeared in 1816, Webster leaped to the defense of the so-called "improprieties" and was particularly wroth that the Americans should be censured for retaining old words. "Will any gentleman," he asked, "invent a process for antiquating a word in America, at the same time it is antiquated in England?"<sup>53</sup> And again: "If the English will blame us for retaining the use of the best words in the language, we cannot help it."<sup>54</sup> His master work, published in 1828, bore the patriotic title, *An American Dictionary of the English Language*. The editors after Webster's death in 1843 withdrew from some of Webster's extreme positions, but the succeeding editor, his son-in-law A. C. Goodrich, carried on the patriotic outlook, for he wrote thus in 1849:

At the present moment, our press throws off daily more printed sheets than the English; and what will be the case at the end of another century? The great seat of the English language is to be on this side of the Atlantic; and whatever may be our success or failure in the higher productions of literature, we certainly can control the outward forms in which it is embodied. While we ought to repress all hasty and rash innovations, we should steadily aim to second the tendencies of our language toward greater simplicity and more comprehensive analogies.<sup>55</sup>

The president of Marietta College, in Ohio, contended for linguistic independence:

London then is no standard for us. The pronunciation of this country will never be conformed to that of London. Without question, the literary men of the United States speak a purer English than the nobility of Great Britain. There may be a growing agreement between the modes of this country and of England, but it is because they are conforming to ours, and not we to theirs. All efforts to make Americans pronounce *clerk* *clark*, or *pour* *power*, and the like, will be unavailing, no matter what English dictionaries, or American dictionaries modeled after English, may say.<sup>56</sup>

Some Americans were even lyrical in their commendation of the national speech. Thus Walt Whitman wrote, ca. 1855-60:

The Americans are going to be the most fluent and melodious voiced people in the world — and the most perfect users of words. — Words follow character — nativity, independence, individuality. ... These States are rapidly supplying themselves with new words, called for by new occasions, new facts, new politics, new combinations. — Far plentier additions will be needed, and, of course, will be supplied. ...

American writers are to show far more freedom in the use of words. — Ten thousand native idiomatic words are growing, or are to-day already grown, out of which vast numbers could be used by American writers, with meaning and effect — words that would be welcomed by the nation, being of the national blood — words that give that taste of identity and locality which is so dear in literature.<sup>57</sup>

William Swinton, a Scot who came to America early in life, indulged in the following panegyric:

The future expansions of the English Language in America are already marked in the great lines of development this idiom shows. It is for us freely to follow the divine indications. ... And what means arise for enriching the arsenal of expression! What new creations surge and swell the ampler currents of our time! New thoughts, new things, all unnamed! Where

<sup>53</sup> *Letter to Pickering*, p. 12.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 25.

<sup>55</sup> *Morning Courier and New York Enquirer*, Feb. 21, 1849, p. 1, col. 10.

<sup>56</sup> Israel Ward Andrews, in the Marietta, Ohio, *Intelligencer*, April 1-8, 1856, as circularised by the G. & G. Merriam Co., Springfield, Mass., 1856, p. 6.

<sup>57</sup> *An American Primer*, Boston, 1904, pp. 2-5 and 35.

is the theory of literary expression that stands for the new politics and sociology? that puts itself abreast the vast divine tendencies of Science? that absorbs the superb suggestions of the Grand Opera? <sup>58</sup>

The statesman John Hay wrote from London in a letter of June 19, 1894 :

How our Ambassador [Thomas F. Bayard] does go it when he gets a roomful of bovine Britons in front of him! He knocks them all silly. I never so clearly appreciated the power of the unhesitating orotundity of the Yankee speech, as in listening — after an hour or two of hum-ha of tongue-tied British men — to the long wash of our Ambassador's sonority.<sup>59</sup>

These statements, however, are typical of only part of American opinion. In spite of its political independence, America remained essentially colonial in its cultural attitudes. The blatant nationalistic pronouncements were in part nothing more than an attempt to offset a feeling of inferiority. Furthermore, the linguistic superstition that somewhere there exists a perfect form of English, if one can only find it, worked in favour of England, for the Americans followed the natural tendency to seek it in some far-off, storied place. Important among those of the colonial attitude was Washington Irving, who wrote ca. 1851: "Now, however much we of the United States may refine and improve the language of our own country, yet the world will look to London as the standard of pure English, as they will to Paris for pure French, and to Madrid for pure Castilian. Any deviation on our part from the best London usage will be liable to be considered as a provincialism."<sup>60</sup> Similar was the opinion of Charles Astor Bristed, an American *littérateur* :

There is no inconsistency in admitting that the worst English *patois* may be less intelligible than the worst American, and yet maintaining that the best currently spoken American contains appreciable deviations from the true English standard. The English provincialisms *keep their place*; they are confined to their own particular localities, and do not encroach on the metropolitan model. ... Until it can be shown that the English nation and its literature are absolutely in a state of decay, the actual usage of educated Englishmen must be the standard of English. Any other principle would compel us to regard the people of Dornshauser, or perhaps of some Canadian village, rather than the inhabitants of Paris, as the authorities in French phraseology.<sup>61</sup>

Of considerable importance was the pronouncement of Richard Grant White, for he was the linguistic oracle in America in the latter years of the nineteenth century. He wrote :

The complaint, which comes to me from more than one quarter, that the term "Americanism" is applied to peculiar use of language in a derogatory sense is not surprising; but it is unreasonable. For English is the language spoken by English people; and while the most important and the most cultivated part of the English race, that which is the direct continuation of the original stock, remains in England, where it was first planted and grew to maturity, it is manifestly to England that we are to go if we would find that which is emphatically and unquestionably English.

The usage of polite society regulates pronunciation; and that there is very polite society in Texas and in California the dwellers in those places most vehemently declare, and I shall not deny. But with the utmost respect for its intelligence and politeness, we must all admit, I think, that it is not English society, or that it is so in a modified and limited sense of

<sup>58</sup> *Rambles among Words: their Poetry, History, and Wisdom*, New York, 1874, pp. 288-89.

<sup>59</sup> *The Life and Letters of John Hay*, Boston, 1915, II, 113.

<sup>60</sup> Letter quoted in the writer's article, "American Projects for an Academy to Regulate Speech," to appear soon in *PMLA*.

<sup>61</sup> "The English Language in America," in *Cambridge Essays, Contributed by Members of the University*, 1855, London, 1855, pp. 61-62.

the term. Therefore, it is not to Texas, or to California, or to Maine, or indeed to any place in "America," that we should go to find our standard English, whether in word in idiom, or in pronunciation. The language spoken in those places may be a very polite one, very admirable in every respect, but it is not necessarily standard English; and just in so far as it deviates from the language of the most cultivated society in England it fails to be English.<sup>62</sup>

The unconscious acceptance of this dictum by most teachers of English and indeed by the majority of the American people goes far in explaining the fumbling with idiom and the lack of dignity so often found in American writing. If the Americans had confidence in the historical worth of their linguistic tradition (which R. G. White so wrong-headedly denied), they would not so readily indulge in garishnesses and *bizarerie*.

#### IV

In the present century the same disputes have continued between the nationalists and internationalists. Let us turn first to America. In 1906 when the subject of simplified spelling came before the House of Representatives, the Congressmen of both parties expressed subserviency to English models. Thus spoke the Hon. Leonidas Livingston of Georgia :

We are tied to a language spoken by people all over the world, and especially in Great Britain and Canada. Now, when we undertake to revolutionize the English language in that way we must consult those who use it with us; it is nothing but right that we should consult them.<sup>63</sup>

Of the same opinion was the Hon. John F. Lacey of Iowa :

We must all recollect that this is not the American language. I received in my mail from New York this morning a request to sign a card agreeing to write the "national language" and to recognize a "national language" and to conform in all respects to the spelling as now proposed in the so-called "simplified orthography". I did not sign the card. I prefer the best usages of the writers of our world-wide language. This is not the American language. It is the English language, a world-wide language, which we have no more right to change by legislation in the United States, or, at least, no moral right, than they have to change it by legislation in Canada, Australia, or New Zealand. It is the New Zealand language, it is the Texas language, it is the New York language, and it is the Yorkshire language, and the orthography is as much a part of the language as the spoken language itself.<sup>64</sup>

Even the leader of the opposing party, the Hon. David A. De Armond of Missouri, agreed in the essential consideration :

The language does belong, I suppose, to the English-speaking people the world over, as well as to those of the United States. Perhaps the people of Great Britain have a little advantage of us in the matter by reason of priority. The language was their language before it was our language, as their nation is older than our nation. I believe, however, that with the increase of the Navy that is going on we need not hesitate to make some changes on account of fear of trouble with Great Britain or of the consequences of that trouble.<sup>65</sup>

In academic circles the spirit of Richard Grant White still held sway; in the words of Henry van Dyke, a Professor at Princeton University :

The proposal to make a new American language to fit our enormous country may be regarded either as a specimen of American humor or as a serious enormity. The natural

<sup>62</sup> *Every-day English*, Boston, 1881, pp. 88-89.

<sup>63</sup> *Congressional Record*, 59th Congress, 2nd session, XLI, 216b (Dec. 10, 1906).

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 314b (Dec. 12, 1906).

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 316b.

style of the persons who gravely make the proposal gives rise to frightful dreams of the kind of new language which they would probably make if they were let loose on the job.<sup>66</sup>

During the World War the aim of "making the world safe for democracy" aroused considerable idealism among the American people, but the disillusionment that followed brought with it a reversion to nationalism, as was shown by the repudiation of the League of Nations. In linguistic matters this spirit led to renewed advocacy of the term *American language* and to the praise of picturesque elements not found in the speech of England. A British traveller of 1921 reported this experience :

In Kansas City a group of journalists interviewed me for several hours on all the issues of the day. They received my views on the League of Nations with profound indifference. They had decided that matter, although they were too polite to say so. They listened, but their pencils were idle. But when, as a side-thought, I suggested in a playful manner, that the American and English languages were drifting apart, and that we now required, in spite of Webster, separate dictionaries, then at once their pencils began to work. Next morning all the Kansas papers had headlines that ran as follows —

ENGLISH AUTHOR DISCOVERS THE AMERICAN LANGUAGE  
SPENDER SUGGESTS A NEW DICTIONARY

The idea had fallen on fertile ground. Instead of offending them, it was accepted as a tribute to their nationality. The Mid West was pleased. They were proud to be thought of as a new nation with a language of their own, instead of being regarded as employing a linguistic offshoot, a mere corruption of the Anglo-Saxon tongue. They were tired of being told that they talked bad English. They were glad to meet a visitor who recognized that they just "talked American."<sup>67</sup>

H. L. Mencken's book *The American Language* took advantage of this attitude and through the wide newspaper publicity given it helped in turn to mould American opinion. The poet Vachel Lindsay declared that "we talked and we wrote United States."<sup>68</sup> One of America's leading younger critics thus sets forth his hopes :

For instance, there is the gigantic business of carrying the English language, notable as it is, into a more perfect stage which we may hope will be called American. There are deficiencies and gaps in this modern English which a sensitive, widely-read linguist can easily point out in comparing it with French and Russian and German. There is also the beginnings of an American speech which may easily become, unless consciously developed, simply a contraction and variation of the resources, already existent, of the mother-tongue. But is it not possible that on the other hand by a tremendous effort "American" could surpass modern English as that surpasses middle English? Who will be the Lyly of the American period, losing none of the rhythms, tonalities, and colors of the preceding phase, but adding to their riches by his lavish coinage of words, phrases, and idioms to suit the new times? Among my contemporaries is there someone dreaming of devoting himself to the actualizing of a perfect language?<sup>69</sup>

In recent years in England the typical attitude has been one of utter loathing for American speech. Certain linguistic superstitions have had a part in clouding the issue. In early modern times when Englishmen attempted to write Latin, essentially a dead language, it might fairly be claimed that any departure from classical models was "not Latin". This attitude has been

<sup>66</sup> In an address before a conference of American and British Professors of English at Columbia University, quoted in the *New York Times*, June 14, 1923, p. 7b.

<sup>67</sup> Harold Spender, *A Briton in America*, London, 1921, p. 22, and cf. p. 119.

<sup>68</sup> *The Landmark*, XI (October, 1929), 609; however, "talking United States" consisted for him in avoiding such words as *eftsoon*, *whenas*, and *yclept*.

<sup>69</sup> Gorham B. Munson, in the *Saturday Review of Literature* (N. Y.), VI (August 24, 1929), 70c.

carried over to the treatment of English; but with this living language, where the standard is to be found in the practice of those who have it as their mother tongue, it cannot be said that natural ways of speech are "not English". The words *congressional*, *dime*, *tomahawk*, *Poughkeepsie*, *blizzard*, *pep*, etc., are just as much part of the English language as are *parliamentary*, *shilling*, *petrol*, *toff*, *Bugsworth*, *keerikin*, *shillelagh*, *weorban*, etc. When the Fowler brothers state that "Americanisms are foreign words, and should be so treated,"<sup>70</sup> they are guilty of a witless pun on the word *foreign*. American words are "foreign" politically but not linguistically. An issue has been made of the words *Anglicism* and *Briticism*. Do they have a legitimate meaning? Many Englishmen answer in the negative. When the American editor Dr. Henry Seidel Canby made use of the word *Anglicism*, an English reviewer, "W. W." rejoined:

The word "Anglicism" has a definite meaning in regard to foreign languages, but in relation to the English language it has no meaning for us at all — or is a synonym for "English." What Dr. Canby meant by it presumably was some usage which his own country had not adopted. His point of view, at any rate, was clear enough. He claimed for America a right equal to our own to decide what is English and what is not.

That is a claim which we cannot too emphatically repudiate. The American language is the American language, and the English language is the English language. In some respects the Americans may fairly claim superiority. "Side walk," for example, is a better word than "pavement," and "fall" an infinitely better word than "autumn." If we do not adopt these better words it is simply because of their "American flavour"; and the instinct which makes us reject them, although unfortunate in certain cases, is profoundly right. The only way to preserve the purity of the English language is to present a steadily hostile resistance to every American innovation. From time to time we may adopt this word or that, or sometimes a whole vivid phrase. But for all serious lovers of the English tongue it is America that is the only dangerous enemy. She must develop her own language and allow us to develop ours regardless of what linguistic developments may be taking place in New York or Melbourne, in Memphis or Montreal.

This is surely a right which we may claim — to do what we will with our language. Other nations may use it if they wish, but that is their concern, not ours, and their use of it does not entitle them to even a single voice in its authoritative definition.<sup>71</sup>

A purist like "W. W." performs a useful function in a speech-community, for in his attacks on the experimenter and the innovator he tends to give the language that solidity and stability that makes communication frictionless. The English certainly are justified in trying to keep the language within bounds and to maintain a linguistic dignity (for the occasions when dignity is desirable); but they should avoid the false position of attributing all lapses from dignity to American influence. Just as the American assertions of linguistic independence throughout the nineteenth century indicated actual colonialism and subserviency, so the English denunciations of American influence at the present day may indicate that common folk are finding American innovations useful and satisfying. The following colloquy is typical of the trend of events:

Mr. A. Douglas Cowburn, the Southwark coroner, asked a constable who was giving evidence at an inquest to-day, "How were the brakes on this car?"

"O. K., sir," replied the constable.

"Don't talk about 'O. K.'" said Mr. Cowburn sharply. "You are in the King's court, so use King's English."

The constable then said the brakes were "all right."<sup>72</sup>

<sup>70</sup> *The King's English*, 3rd ed., Oxford, 1930, p. 33.

<sup>71</sup> "The Anglo-American Language," in the *New Statesman*, XXIX (June 25, 1927), 340.

A fuller quotation is given by Kemp Malone in *American Speech*, III (April, 1928), 270-72.

<sup>72</sup> *The Evening News* (London) Nov. 8, 1933, p. 1b.

The coroner may loathe the term *O. K.*, but it satisfies the constable. The constable prefers an informal expression, and would find ways of annoying the purist even if America had never been discovered.

Let me repeat that I have presented these selected quotations from the opinion of two centuries merely to throw light on trends in social attitudes, and the reader must be cautious in using them in an analysis of actual linguistic conditions. When a New Englander wrote as early as 1668, "God sifted a whole Nation that he might send choice Grain over into this Wilderness,"<sup>73</sup> he was in a frame of mind to think highly of American speech. And when Dr. Johnson burst forth. "Sir, they are a race of convicts, and ought to be thankful for any thing we allow them short of hanging,"<sup>74</sup> he was in a frame of mind to disparage the English of America. Biases of such a sort must be taken into account.

More importantly, these quotations show the fatuity of making linguistic judgements on the basis of "right" and "wrong". The forms of language should not be dealt with as if they were matters of ethics and morals; and because of this, righteous indignation has no place in discourse on language. Most "champions for the purity of English", whether of the American or English variety, are out of sympathy with natural linguistic tendencies. Even in a restricted speech-community the best speakers differ considerably among themselves, within what G. P. Krapp aptly called an "area of negligible variation." While it is no doubt inevitable that England and America will each have its own standard of speech, this "area of negligible variation" covers the great bulk of the language, and in this larger view the differences between the two standards are trifling and peripheral. Prejudice of various sorts should not be allowed to obscure the fact that "Amphi-Atlantic English" represents a genuine linguistic unity. The speakers of both branches can well heed the clarion call of the Victorian wine-merchant, Sydney Dobell:

O ye who in eternal youth  
 Speak with a living and creative flood  
 This universal English, and do stand  
 Its breathing book; live worthy of that grand  
 Heroic utterance — parted, yet a whole,  
 Far, yet unsever'd — children brave and free  
 Of the great Mother-tongue, and ye shall be  
 Lords of an empire wide as Shakespeare's soul,  
 Sublime as Milton's immemorial theme,  
 And rich as Chaucer's speech, and fair as Spenser's dream.

University of Chicago.

ALLEN WALKER READ.

---

<sup>73</sup> William Stoughton, *New-Englands True Interest, not to Lie ... Delivered in a Sermon preached in Boston in New England, April 29, 1668*, Cambridge, 1670, p. 19.

<sup>74</sup> *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, ed. Hill, Oxford, 1887, II, 312.

## Notes and News

### The Second International Congress of Phonetic Sciences

The Second International Congress of Phonetic Sciences was held in London between July 22 and 26 at University College, London, under the presidency of Professor Daniel Jones. At the opening session Professor L. N. G. Filon, Vice-Chancellor of the University, in welcoming the 250 delegates and members of thirty different nationalities, emphasised the especially international function of phonetics in promoting good relations based on mutual sympathy and understanding.

It was particularly significant that Professor Otto Jespersen, Professor Daniel Jones, Professor Wilhelm Horn, Professor Vendryes, Professor Stetson of Ohio, and Professor Chatterji of Calcutta should all have spoken from the same platform in University College, London, representing not only their own countries and institutions, but the traditions of Paṇini, Melville and Graham Bell, Sweet, Rousselot and of Indian, European, and American phonetic scholarship generally.

This joining up of tributaries in the main stream was in fact to be a feature of the Congress, to which the attention of all members was drawn at the opening session by the chairman of the Permanent Council, Professor J. van Ginneken. After enumerating the fifteen branches of phonetics each claiming the service of specialists, he announced there would be no sectional meetings and no overlapping, and urged the specialists to go and listen to one another in the interests of the general advancement of our knowledge of speech. Attendance at the meetings showed many members shared this general interest. Indeed the need for this sort of intercourse and general stock-taking was evident on all sides. In more than one meeting responsible speakers said they felt we were at a turning-point, perhaps the beginning of a new and more fruitful period in the history of the phonetic sciences. Properly conducted congresses of this kind help us to realise what our own job is, and to understand the other fellow's too. The adolescent phonetic sciences are only just beginning to do this. This was the second congress.

During the ten sessions of the Congress most branches of phonetic science were authoritatively represented. The study of a man's actual sounds from the acoustic and physiological points of view is the work of experimental phonetics. This branch was well represented not only by the presence of Professors Flatau, Menzerath, Oscar Russell, Scripture, Stetson, Dr. Kaiser and Mr. Stephen Jones, but also by the well attended joint session with the International Society of Experimental Phonetics, and the excellent exhibits and demonstrations, some of which, e.g., Professor Menzerath's X-ray film, Professor Flatau's Kehlkopf-Endostroboskop, were of outstanding interest. H. M. Post Office placed a large cathode ray oscillograph on exhibit, with a hand microphone attachment by means of which most members must have seen the "curves" of their voices. The disturbances in the air which we study by acoustics represent only a small proportion of the total bodily energy we expend when we speak. Most of this energy is felt and unfortunately cannot be measured at present. There are thus definite limitations to acoustic phonetics, and also at present to physiological phonetics. Experimental researches have however shattered many of the traditional notions about the

postures and movements of the organs of speech, and the overhaul of classroom phonetics would seem to be long overdue. This done, there is still a large field of work for perception or auditory phonetics, which cannot be done by any other technique. It is clear then that a new alliance in different terms from those we are accustomed to, will have to be concluded between experimental phonetics, which alone is to be trusted to make reliable records of specific speech events, and the more abstract linguistic phonetics, which by its very nature can only deal with types or classes of events.

Perhaps the most abstract branch of phonetics is what is nowadays called phonology, which, quite unlike experimental phonetics does not concern itself with "sounds" or "phones" as specific speech events, but with whole systems of functioning sound-types of languages considered as wholes. It is not the science of speech sounds but the science of these functional units, or phonemes. The Congress heard so much about the phoneme, (which no experimental phonetician will ever be able to catch in the act of occurring), that Professor Lloyd-James brought the house down in his witty speech at the Congress dinner, when he likened the pursuit of the phoneme as indulged in by some scholars, to the Hunting of the Snark. Nevertheless the special session with the Internationale Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Phonologie under the chairmanship of Professor Vendryes was one of the most important meetings of the Congress. In spite of certain specialised technicalities of Prague (Trnka and Vachek) and Aarhus (Hjelmslev and Uldall) there is a surprisingly large proportion of common doctrine shared by the younger schools and the London school of phonetics. This is clearly shown in Professor Trubetzkoy's extremely interesting and valuable *Anleitung zu Phonologischen Beschreibungen* which was on sale at the Congress, and even in his stimulating paper on his "Grenzsignal" theory.<sup>1</sup> In the *Anleitung* there are unmistakeable signs of Anglo-Saxon influence, just as there are signs of continental phonological influence in England and America. Theory grows and the greatest makers of theory are always ready to change their minds.

In order to mark with emphasis the difference between the study of functional units, and the study of actual speech sounds, which is the business of acoustic, physiological, and pedagogical phonetics, Dr. Hjelmslev and Mr. Uldall propose to inflict a new word on the English language — "phonematics" — the science of phonemes. "Phonematics" is an intra-linguistic theory of phonemes based on the view that the units of language material can be symbolised in other ways than by means of sound, and that consequently these units cannot be defined in terms of acoustics, physiology, or psychology. Phonemes are defined exclusively by their function in the language, which includes three types of relation: 1) grouping relations, 2) implications, i.e., the replacing of one phoneme by another under specific phonematic conditions (e.g., the replacement of [z] by [s] in English *ships*); 3) alternations, i.e., the replacing of one phoneme by another under specific grammatical conditions (e.g., ablaut and umlaut). There is nothing in the preceding account which could not be fairly described as phonology or as "phonetics from a functional point of view," though there are grave difficulties in it which the present writer has tried to avoid in his *Use and Distribution of Certain English Sounds*, from which it is clear (though not in the title) that as phonemes never occur

<sup>1</sup> See my "Use and Distribution of Certain English Sounds", *English Studies*, Feb. 1935, p. 15.

as events, they cannot be said to be used. On the other hand a sound can be used in a particular context, but we cannot very well speak of its distribution. For the abstract distributed group the term phoneme is perhaps necessary; but the general theory of the phoneme appears to be in the melting-pot, as Dr. Twaddell of Wisconsin has tried to show in his monograph *On Defining the Phoneme*, which Dr. Vachek discussed before the Congress. At any rate, the term "phonematics" would appear to be gratuitous and premature. Moreover there is some danger of confusion with the very different word "phonemathic" which Mr. Stephen Jones<sup>2</sup> borrowed from French to qualify that branch of applied phonetics which deals with the technique of teaching and learning pronunciation.

A great deal of English work in phonetics has been of this thoroughly practical kind, and in constant touch with phonetic problems in the everyday life of the modern world — English as a world language abroad, as a standard language in the English speaking world, not to mention constant contact with exotic and unwritten languages all over the Empire. Professor Daniel Jones and Professor Lloyd-James have been in constant association with the B.B.C. Advisory Committee on Spoken English, and in the special pedagogical session, Professor Lloyd-James told the Congress of his experience of phonetics in relation to Broadcasting. In the same session Professor Kenyon of Hiram, Ohio, Mrs. Jane Dorsey Zimmermann of New York, and Dr. H. E. Palmer of Tokio also addressed the Congress.

Professor K. Bühler of Vienna presided over the session for speech psychology and also read a paper on the relations of phonetics and phonology. Professor Isserlin of Munich, Dr. Gräfin von Kuenburg, Professor Benni of Warsaw, and Mrs. Norman of London among others also contributed valuable papers.

Linguistic geography and the technique of phonographic recording was well represented owing to the active part taken by four distinguished members of the Committee in charge of The Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada — Professors Hans Kurath, Miles Hanley, John S. Kenyon and Oscar Russell. Dr. Lowman of the staff of the Survey also read a paper. American work in Speech was represented by Mrs. Jane Dorsey Zimmermann and a large party of American teachers of speech. Professor O'Maille of Galway also dealt with dialect survey work in Ireland.

Under the chairmanship of Mr. V. E. Negus, the well known laryngologist, and author of *The Mechanism of the Larynx*, a session was devoted to speech pathology and therapy, during which Mr. T. Pomfret Kilner gave the Congress a fascinating glimpse of his surgical technique in cleft lip and palate cases, always bearing in mind the main purpose of assisting speech function. Dr. Mitrinovic of Warsaw and Miss Macleod of London also contributed to this session.

The aesthetic aspect of speech was dealt with by Miss Fogerty and Miss Storey, the typographical problems of the phonetician by Dr. Smith, and the importance of intonation studies by Professor Horn and Miss Schubiger.

In recognition of the Indian origins of phonetics, there was a special Indian session under the chairmanship of Professor Chatterji of Calcutta who told the meeting something of early Indian and Arabic work in phonetics and of

<sup>2</sup> See *Le Maître Phonétique*, Jan.-Mars 1934, p. 9.

Brahman manual signs of intonation. Dr. Graham Bailey, Mr. J. R. Firth, and Mr. A. C. Sen also contributed to the session.

Among other distinguished phoneticians and linguists who read important papers to the well attended sessions of the Congress were Professors Van Ginneken, Bröndal, Grammont, Duraffour, Selmer, Sommerfelt, and Mr. Stephen Jones. Sir Richard Paget not only read a very interesting paper on Sign Languages and his gesture theory, but demonstrated his models for producing imitations of speech sounds, and entertained the Congress after dinner with a narrative in a manual sign language which he is developing.

The social side of the Congress was also a great success. At a very pleasant reception at Lancaster House, members were received by the Honourable Oliver Stanley on behalf of H. M. Government. The Lord Mayor invited delegates to tea at the Mansion House. The Royal Academy of Dramatic Art gave a performance of *Pygmalion*, and there were visits and excursions. The Congress dinner was well attended and after the usual toasts, special congratulations were offered to Professor Daniel Jones and the British Organising Committee. After dinner Professor Thudicum and Professor Horn gave most amusing performances. Professor Grammont was more serious, and Professor Jones recited Chaucer's *Pardoner's Tale* in a reconstructed pronunciation he had first learned from Sweet.

An attempt is to be made to arrange the next Congress in America in 1938, probably in New York.

On the Saturday morning following the Congress, the International Phonetic Association held its fiftieth anniversary meeting at which Professor Daniel Jones outlined its history, supplemented by Professor Jespersen's personal reminiscences. It is understood that Professor Jones' historical account will appear in a forthcoming number of *Le Maître Phonétique*.

London.

J. R. FIRTH.

---

## Reviews

*Virgil the Necromancer, Studies in Virgilian Legends.* By JOHN WEBSTER SPARGO. (Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature, 10). Pp. xii + 502, 29 illustrations. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1934. \$5.

The Virgilian legends form one of the most curious instances of transmutation of the classical legacy, though, as Dr. Spargo remarks, it is by no means clear why those odd fragments of folk-lore ("wrecks of all the cultures of the world") should have crystallised round a highly fanciful image of Virgil. "Virgil's works yield no reliable clue to the reasons underlying the metamorphosis of poet to mage." Dr. Spargo confesses that he has been unable to find one fact in what Comparetti, in his famous work on *Virgilio nel medio evo* (Florence 1896), calls the literary tradition of Virgil which leads in any way to the group of legends devoted to Virgil's magical powers. "If, as Comparetti maintains, the legends grew naturally out of the conception of Virgil as a wise man, why is it that they do not appear until

the middle of the twelfth century?" Comparetti's argument is based on local records connected with Virgil's long stay in Naples and the celebrity of his tomb in that city; but Comparetti's was only a surmise; he did not produce the local records from which the popular superstition would have arisen, and Dr. Spargo feels sceptical about them, "for if there had been such a tradition as Comparetti here conjectures, surely Alexander of Telesse (who devoted a chronicle of the years 1127-35 to the deeds of Roger II of Sicily), interested as he was in Virgil's relationship to Naples, would not have failed to mention so impressive a landmark as Virgil's tomb, if its location were known."

The legend concerning Virgil's bones occurs, along with that of the fly, in the oldest text which we have on Virgil as a magician, the *Policraticus* of John of Salisbury. Dr. Spargo's hypothesis of the origin of this legend points to the date 1130-40 as the probable date of formation, in connexion with Roger II's siege of Naples, when Aristotle's protectorate of Palermo, the rival city which possessed the bones of the Greek philosopher, would have resulted in the discovery in Naples of bones attributed to Virgil. Gervasius of Tilbury says that the military commander of Naples and a mob of the people gathered together the bones of Virgil in a bag, and took them to the Castle of the Sea, "where they are shown through an iron grill to anyone wishing to see them." "Now this Castle of the Sea," Dr. Spargo goes on, "is none other than the fortress-like building later called the Castle of the Egg. The presence of Virgil's bones there presumably protected the building, at the same time making it a sort of Mausoleum. Some Moslem, or person familiar with usage in Moslem countries, hung up an egg there, because of an association between ostrich eggs and mausoleums in Mohammedan lands; and thus came about the attribution to Virgil of the egg-talisman." Such is Dr. Spargo's conjecture as to the origin of the legend of the egg. We may surmise, with Dr. Spargo, that the legend concerning Virgil's bones is the oldest; once Virgil came to be regarded as a magician, "we may perhaps be content, with Hasluck, to say simply that 'progressive lying' is responsible for the rest." Another fact on which Dr. Spargo lays stress is that the legends first appeared in the *Policraticus* (about 1159); then, during the next one hundred and seventy years, they were told pretty much all over Europe, by Englishmen, Frenchmen, Germans, by a troubadour of Provence, in chronicles, encyclopaedias, romances, and in two of the greatest collections of stories known in the Middle Ages; but never once are the legends told by Italians during this period of one hundred and seventy years. Then Cecco d'Ascoli, the *Cronica di Partenope*, Cino da Pistoia, and Antonio Pucci follow one another in rapid succession. This silence of Italy, and especially of Naples, is found most striking by Dr. Spargo, who is therefore unable to follow Comparetti in postulating for these tales a long life among the Neapolitan folk.

The American scholar has handled the materials already dealt with by Comparetti, with a different method, starting with a chronological survey of the legends; his exhaustive exposition, though less impressive than the arguing of the Italian scholar, has over it the advantage of being more cautious and objective. The volume is adorned with many plates which form a welcome iconography of the legend.

*Sir Thomas Wyatt and Some Collected Studies.* By E. K. CHAMBERS. Pp. 228. London: Sidgwick & Jackson. 1933. Price 7/6.

*Thoughts on the Mediaeval Lyric.* By G. KAR. Pp. vii + 98. Oxford: Blackwell. 1933. Price 5/—.

Volumes of collected essays and lectures, unless when strung together by some leading thread (as was the case, e.g., with Aby Warburg's *Gesammelte Schriften*), have little to recommend themselves to readers. They may be convenient devices to preserve in an easily accessible form writings which would otherwise lie scattered in a dozen reviews, records, anthologies, etc.; as books, they are failures. When the collected papers were originally delivered as lectures, the coarsely spun fabric, meant for clear-cut effects on a listening public, soon provokes in the reader an impression of shallowness and futility.

E. K. Chambers's papers were not all written originally as lectures; still they have not infrequently a tang of University Extension, of learning boiled down and made palatable with here and there a well-turned phrase for the consumption of that shapeless polycephalous monster which publishers have invented for their own particular pet, the General Public. But perhaps I am only generalizing on an impression caused by the reading of the essays on *Sir Thomas Malory, Some Aspects of Mediaeval Lyric* and *The Disenchantment of the Elizabethans*. The study which gives the name to the volume, contains the results of original research on Sir Thomas Wyatt. The remark (p. 130) on Wyatt's affinity with Donne is found particularly apposite by the present writer, who happened to point out that affinity in an essay printed in *A Garland for John Donne* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931). Chambers's pages on Wyatt's relations with Anne Boleyn, with the conclusion that "we may after all re-establish the dark Anne Boleyn as the Brunet of Wyatt's lines" are typical of the balanced mind of the author, more made to sift extant material than to produce new theories. A good instance of his qualities is offered by the essay on *The English Pastoral*, which gives a good survey of a subject in which it is not easy to say something new, and the other essay on *Some Points in the Grail Legend*, where he discredits Miss Weston's fascinating, if "incredible", hypothesis (so fascinating, indeed, that T. S. Eliot drew from Miss Weston's *From Ritual to Romance* "a good deal of the incidental symbolism" of *The Waste Land*). His suggestion — and the interrogative form in which it is advanced is again characteristic of the cautious frame of mind of this author — runs: "Is it not possible that the Grail story was originally one of the choice of a successor by the royal talismans themselves?" etc.

E. K. Chambers has a warning against foreign English scholars (p. 123): "Source-hunting has long been the bane of academic study. It is intelligible enough. Judgements of fact are always easier than judgments of value. And the study of English, in particular, is still suffering from the past domination of continental professors, who brought to it much scientific industry, but were not unnaturally somewhat deaf to the finer felicities of an alien speech." I suppose Prof. G. Kar, who holds the English chair at D. A. V. College, Jullundur, might be described as a foreign English scholar. But he has none of the defects of foreign scholars alluded to by E. K. Chambers.

He offers, rather, an excellent illustration, by way of caricature, of all the defects of the English scholars of England when they try to write down to the General Reader. He does nothing but skim over his themes: Dante's *Vita Nuova*, Marcabru, Bernart of Ventadour, Chaucer and the Troubadours, Troubadour Melodies and Indian Ragas, Amorous Gower, the mediaeval conception of love. The only praise he seems to covet is that of having a light touch. It is this consideration, I imagine, which has prompted him to try to be witty, with results illustrated by the following sentences: "Dante divides in wonderment her very name into syllables and gleefully sandwiches a few layers of fond symbolism"; "The Jesus of Crashaw has in each syllable 1,000 Arabias + 1,000 hills of frankincense + 10,000 paradises, neither more nor less"; "The brain is defined by the Concise Oxford Dictionary as 'the convoluted nervous substance in the skull of vertebrates.' Feel your spine and be once again a vertebrate. But where are they — those cells of the medulla oblongata or cerebral cortex that once strung and pulled together all the quips and cranks and metaphysical wiles so nicely two hundred years ago?"; and, apropos of a poem by Keble: "Look how all the nerves are now at work under the brain's management and are happy — there is no ca' canny." Such phrases, I suppose, are meant to prove beyond dispute the author's familiarity with English idioms. However, there is in Prof. Kar's thin booklet also a good sprinkling of general information about some aspects of mediaeval lyric, though I fail to see why he should have valued that information so much as to wish to put it in book form. His learning is wide enough, but vague. Nothing authorizes him to say: "In one mood Dante platonizes and calls Beatrice *mente mia*", when the text quoted in this connexion runs: "*La gloriosa donna de la mia mente.*" His omissions are startling; he does not quote Cavalcanti's canzone "*Donna mi prega*" which is such a characteristic expression of mediaeval theories of love. And so on; but, as the aim of the booklet cannot be an original contribution either to scholarship or to literary criticism, but merely a pleasant introduction for Indian students, it would be unfair to judge it too severely.

Rome.

MARIO PRAZ.

---

*Shakespeares Sonette in Deutschland.* Versuch einer literarischen Typologie. Von LUDWIG W. KAHN. Im Gotthelf Verlag, Bern und Leipzig. 1935. Brosch. 122 Seiten. Fr. 6.—.

Nach einer Einleitung, in der ausgeführt wird, dass Übersetzungen ein hervorragendes Mittel zur Stilvergleichung bieten, weil jeder Mensch und jede Zeit ein Dichtwerk anders sieht, erörtert der Verfasser zunächst die Aufnahme von Shakespeares Sonetten in Deutschland. Wir sehen, wie diese, infolge verschiedenartiger Auffassungen, im Laufe der Zeit gründlich gewechselt hat. Zur Zeit der Entdeckung Shakespeares in Deutschland, d.h. zu Ende des 18ten Jahrhunderts, wurden die Sonette als eine durch die Zeit ihres Entstehens bedingte Geschmacksverirrung abgelehnt. Unter Herders und Goethes klassisch-romantischem Erlebnisbegriffe kam man dazu in den Sonetten Erlebnisdichtung zu sehen. In der zweiten Hälfte des neunzehnten Jahr-

hundreds fing man an Shakespeares Sonette wörtlich zu erklären und naturalistisch auszulegen, wodurch sie mit der bürgerlichen Moral in Widerstreit kamen. Aus Gründen dieser Moral wurde sodann der Erlebnisgehalt vielfach wieder geleugnet. Man wollte nach Gelbkes nicht gerade geschmackvollem Ausdruck "den Schwan von Avon reinwaschen." Der Erlebnisbegriff, welchen die bürgerliche Zeit materiell und äusserlich genommen hatte, erfuhr bald eine neue Vertiefung durch Stefan George und seine Schule. "Wenn die Sonette jetzt als Erlebnisdichtung angesprochen werden, so heisst das nicht so sehr, dass sie "ge"-lebt wurden als dass sie "er"-lebt sind; sie erzählen nicht so sehr von etwas, das dem Dichter widerfahren ist, als von dem, was er erfahren hat." In diesem Sinne sind George und Gundolf wieder für den Erlebnisgehalt der Sonette eingetreten.

In den weitem Kapiteln wird nun das Übersetzen von Shakespeares Sonetten als ein stilistisches und sprachlich-formales Problem behandelt. Nach allgemeinen Betrachtungen über die Kunst des Übersetzens englischer Verse versucht der Verfasser den von Shakespeare in seinen Sonetten angewandten Stil zu charakterisieren. Dem Stil des Originals, der als klassisch-renaissancehaft, rhetorisch, deklamatorisch und pathetisch bezeichnet wird, werden dann in den weitem Ausführungen die Stilarten der deutschen Übersetzungen gegenübergestellt. Der Verfasser unterscheidet romantische Übersetzungen (z.B. die von Tieck), bürgerliche Übersetzungen (z.B. die von Bodenstedt) und aristokratisch-unbürgerliche Übersetzungen (z.B. die von George). Belege und eine ausführliche Bibliographie beschliessen die Abhandlung.

Im Ganzen betrachtet ist die Arbeit eine scharfsinnige und anregende Untersuchung. Nur einige wenige Behauptungen und Ausführungen sind meines Erachtens überspitzt, bzw. unzutreffend, z.B. wenn gesagt wird, dass das Interesse an den Sonetten stets mehr biographisch und literaturgeschichtlich als künstlerisch gewesen wäre. Ein Platen und ein George haben doch wohl die Sonette als reine Kunstwerke betrachtet? Weiter halte ich es nicht für richtig den Stil der Sonette ganz allgemein als rhetorisch oder deklamatorisch zu bezeichnen. Für eine Anzahl mag diese Bezeichnung zutreffend sein, jedenfalls nicht für alle.

Münster in Westfalen.

J. DECROOS.

---

*Der Einfluss der Neuen Welt auf den Deutschen Wortschatz 1492—1800.* Von PHILIP MOTLEY PALMER. (Germanische Bibliothek, II. Abteilung, Band 35). 166 pp. Heidelberg: C. Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung. 1933. 7,50 Mk.

Every Anglist or Americanist will feel indebted to the author (Assistant Professor of German, University of Cincinnati) for this heavily documented glossary, which is decidedly an improvement on both Lokotsch's *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Amerikanischen (Indianischen) Wörter im Deutschen* (1926), and Friederici's *Hilfswörterbuch für den Amerikanisten* (1926). To let the author speak for himself: "Es ist die Absicht dieser Arbeit, den Einfluss der Neuen Welt auf den deutschen Wortschatz von der Zeit der Entdeckung Amerikas bis zum Jahre 1800 zu untersuchen, die angegebenen Wörter etymologisch, wenn möglich, zu erklären, und ihr mehr oder weniger häufiges Vorkommen durch Belege darzustellen. Man darf sich nicht mit den Wörtern amerikanischen Ursprungs begnügen, wie Lokotsch es tut, denn die Anzahl spanischer Wörter, die ihren Ursprung der Neuen Welt verdanken, ist

immerhin beträchtlich." Considering the insufficiency of all our German dictionaries as regards exact information about those words which were introduced by the discovery of the new world the author's aim has been "die Lücke einigermassen auszufüllen." He has made a thorough investigation of 179 history books and books of travel written in German in the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, most of which he was fortunate enough to find in the John Carter Brown Library, Providence, Rhode Island, incidentally, the author tells us, one of the best collections of Americana in the United States. Out of these books he has culled a list of 151 words occurring in German between the years 1492 and 1800, giving in each case a definition of the meaning, the etymologies (so far as possible), and the recorded evidence till 1800. (I doubt whether the etymologies could be given correctly by any but a sound Amerindian scholar). The author has had the satisfaction of carrying a great many of these words much farther back than might be expected, thus antedating the recorded evidence of the German dictionaries and, what will particularly interest Anglists, of the Oxford English Dictionary as well, not by decades only but in a few cases by centuries. No fewer than 59 words are established by him to be recorded in German before they were in English, going by the first quotations of the Oxford Dictionary, e.g. *Agave*, *Aguti*, *Chicha*, *Knaster*, *Leguan*, *Nandu*, which are recorded 60, 141, 181, 110, 107, and 273 years earlier respectively than in English. The author makes a special point of mentioning the Algonkin word *Sachem*, the first recorded evidence of which (in German) dates from 1534, i.e. 88 years earlier than in English, in other words decades before New England was colonised by Europeans. As most of the history books in question seem to have used Spanish sources, many Spanish words have been included in his list, besides 16 additional words (in the Anhang) which are also of other than American origin, the earliest datings of which, however, are to be found in these travel books dealing with America.

The title of the book might lead the unwary reader to think this glossary a comprehensive treatment of the matter. But the author says expressly: "*Das weitere Schicksal*<sup>1</sup> der hier behandelten Wörter in der *Gesamtliteratur* wie auch im heutigen Wortschatz fällt ausserhalb des Gebiets dieser Arbeit. Mit der Behandlung derselben in der eigentlichen reisebeschreibenden Literatur muss es sein Bewenden haben." So the book can only be called an instalment. Though we understand the Author's wish to confine himself to those books of travel which were within easy reach of his desk, we hope he will some day widen the scope of his book and include general literature. As it is, even the somewhat superciliously frowned-on Lokotsch has several words we do not find here, e.g. *Gaucht*, *Mondamin*, *Nadowessier*, *Pemmikan*, *Sequoia*, *Toboggan*, etc. But I am afraid that also the geographical or tribal names, and so forth, could not be completely ruled out of such a comprehensive glossary; in my opinion Lokotsch rightly includes *Manhattan*, *Sioux*, *Azteke*, *Mohikaner*, *Mississippi*, etc. By doing so and by including general literature as well the author would be able to round out his book and make it truly useful for the general reader, who is at present left wondering why he does not find, say, such words as *Blassgesicht* or *Rothaut* in a book like this. In a few cases (e.g. in the article on 'Neue Welt') the author has overstepped his self-imposed boundaries, quoting from Brant's *Narrenschiff*, a work of general literature. He seems to think that it would hardly yield earlier datings, if I am interpreting his words "*das weitere Schicksal*

<sup>1</sup> Italics mine.

der hier behandelten Wörter..." rightly. But I am of opinion that a careful search of the works of general literature would enable us to beat the author at his own game, i.e. to carry the recorded evidence still further back in many cases! One example may suffice to bear out my point. This example, which was moreover temptingly put across the author's trail twice without his noticing it, will readily suggest itself to anyone more or less versed in German literature. There is a passing reference in the appendix (re 'Franzosenkrankheit', p. 154) to Murner's translation of Ulrich von Hutten's famous treatise "*De Guaiaci medicina et morbo Gallico liber unus...*", which Hutten began in 1518 and finished in 1519. This treatise, which may be called *the* book on the subject, was immediately (1519) translated into German by Th. Murner, but later also into French and English. In the words of Hutten's biographer D. F. Strauss, it has maintained its place in the history of medicine to the present day (Ed. of the Insel-Verlag, 1927, p. 234). Consulting Mr. Palmer's entries for *Guajak* one looks in vain for a quotation from Hutten or Murner, which would have enabled him to carry the first recorded evidence of *Guajak* (which he gives as 1524), back to 1518 or 1519 respectively. This seems the more strange since he refers the reader to the Oxford Dictionary ("*Das Wort ist neun Jahre früher im Deutschen als im Englischen belegt*") and ought to have noticed that this quotation is taken from Paynell's English translation of Hutten's treatise (1533). And as D. F. Strauss remarks (l.c., p. 232) that Nikolaus Poll had written a similar tract in the previous year we could carry the word back to 1517, or earlier still, considering that Hutten contracted the disease in 1508, and may have heard of *Guajak* a long time before he began his cure.

The passage from the 6th chapter of Hutten's treatise is generally interesting, not the least, perhaps, because it seems to be the *first recorded evidence in German of 'Amerika'*; at any rate it ranks prior to the passage from L. Fries (1527!), for whom Mr. Palmer has staked out a claim. It also gives one of the earliest datings for *Neue Welt*. So I may be permitted to quote both Murner's translation and the original Latin.

... sein bruch ist zu vnsz kumē vsz der Inselen *Spangnola* genant / die ligt zu dē nidergang d' sonnen / bey *America* dē landt da es sich zu mitternacht hin erstreckt nach seiner lenge / vñ ist auch in ʒgāgnē iarē mitt dē andern *newlich erfundenē inselen* erfundē worden die vnsern vorfaren vnerkant seint gewesen / die ynwonner d' Inselen / verkūen gemeinlich all die *frantzosen* wie wir die parpelen / vñ bruchē nüt darzu dē disz holtz ... Sie habē das zu latin *guaiacū* genant / aber die inwonner der Inselen nennend es *huiacū* / vnd von denen habendt das die *hispanier* auch also genent. Also hat mir zu Augspurg Paulus Ritus gesagt dz es der massen wie ob stot sol genent werden.

Translatuſ eius e *Spangnola* Insula ad nos usuſ est. Ea in occidēte, iuxta *Americam*, atque adeo ea parte sita est, qua *America* longitudine in Septētrionem desinit, simul cū illa superioribus annis, inter nouas terras, & antiquis incognitas reperta. Ipsiſ Insulae omnes *morbo Gallico* aliquādo laborāt accolae, quē admodum uariolis nos. Neque alio contra remedio utūtūr ... Nomen ei fecerūt *Guaiacum*. Sic enim literis illud latinis, quod cum *hiatu* *HVIACVM* pronūnciant Insulares, ab ipsorum ideomate exceperūt Hispani. Nam mihi narravit Augustae Paulus Ricius, auditum sibi ab Hispano, qui in Insula fuisseſ, primam nominis syllabum non *Gua* proferri a Spagnolensibus, sed exigere hoc gentis linguam, ut quae latini sic scribant, ipsi non g litera sed u cum *flatili* pronūntient, ut sit *Huiacum*, apud eos *trissyllaba* item dictio, non *Guaiacū*.

*America. A Practical Handbook.* By RONALD ELWY MITCHELL. 318 pp. London: Hamish Hamilton. 1935. 5s. net.

Among books on America that have come my way, this is one of the most charming and least pretentious. The author, a young Welshman<sup>1</sup> who was sent to America by the Commonwealth Fund "to study (his) own pet subject at an American University, to live among the American people and travel over any part of the country (he) pleased," would probably be surprised to find it reviewed in a philological journal. It is neither the work of a disgruntled intellectual like Duhamel, nor of a philosophical student of men and manners like Huizinga, but just of an intelligent young Britisher, with a zest for experience and adventure, a remarkable freedom from insular prejudice, an eye for landscape, an ear for peculiarities of speech and intonation, and a fluent style.

Perhaps the most striking thing about the author's attitude to America and the Americans is its freedom from prejudice. We are all familiar, thanks to Sinclair Lewis and a number of European critics, with the less pleasant aspects of the American scene; sympathetic accounts by reliable observers are rarer. To those prepared to study the brighter side of the picture Mr. Mitchell's book may be warmly recommended. His point of view is not one of academic detachment, but the result of the exercise of an open eye and an open mind, coupled, one may surmise, with an excellent physique. To a Virginian like Adams, New York is pandemonium, where it is impossible to enjoy "a quiet, thoughtful, sane, and nervously wholesome life."<sup>2</sup> To Mr. Mitchell, "It is fun just to be in New York, whatever the season and whatever you are doing, whether walking its streets, riding its traffic, dancing on its floors or eating at its tables." Elsewhere, in the chapter on New England, it becomes clear that his enjoyment of life in America is not merely a matter of animal spirits: "The charm of New England lies in small things and daily happenings. Search for the spirit of New England and you will come away disappointed. Stay in it and its magic will get you and you will love it for ever." Even for the much maligned Middle West he has a good word. True, at Sauk Center, the birthplace of Sinclair Lewis and the original of Gopher Prairie,

... would you believe it — they are proud of it. The place was honoured by being chosen as the epitome of deadliness and despairing lack of beauty, as typical of the worst in American life. The first thing I saw in its main street was a store window with Gopher Prairie splashed across its windows. That looked like shame! It was no more prosaic or ugly than many small towns I had already seen, and it was larger and more prosperous looking than I had expected. But there was no mistaking it.

None the less: "Be fair to the Middle West," the author exhorts us. After a description of Bassett and Brewster, two deadly villages in Nebraska, he continues :

<sup>1</sup> In Harrap's Autumn List, 1935, I find: "Mr. Mitchell [is] a Welsh student of drama under Professor Baker at Yale University." He is the author of a Prize One-Act Play, *The Royal Inn*, performed in London on June 30th.

<sup>2</sup> James Truslow Adams, "Kensington Gardens and Lafayette Square." *The Yale Review*, Autumn 1930, p. 34.

Scorn if you like the Bassetts and Brewsters, but stay in some quiet place, a ranch in Oklahoma, a farm in Ohio or Iowa, a lake cabin in Michigan or Minnesota. There, and there only, will you come to understand what the Middle West meant to the first settlers and what it now means to the most sensitive of the forty-two and a half million people who live there.

### As to the American people,

Their faults are the faults of youth; reckless optimism, enthusiasm, vitality, sentimentality, sensuality, mimicry and impatience of restraint are among their qualities. ... Above all, the Americans enjoy life. It is in their own way, and in a variety of ways, that they enjoy it, but they look forward like happy children to what the next day will bring. In this youthfulness and freshness lies their greatest charm.

Nowhere in the whole book is there the slightest trace of the mentality of those who thank God that they are not as other men are.

It is easy for the British to hold out their prejudices against the Americans when they meet a few casually in Britain or on the Continent. It is hard to resist them if you live among them and know them very well. Like wicked infants, they have a way with them.

### The reverse attitude is delightfully illustrated by the following anecdote :

I was once discussing meat with a young man from Britain. I said I thought English meat rather better.

"Of course," he said, "everything is better in England."

"Oh, no," I protested, "ice-cream isn't!"

"I don't like ice-cream," he said, and the argument was closed.

Mr. Mitchell's book consists of six chapters: To and Around New York; The American Language; Driving and Travel; New England and the East; The American People; Remoter Parts: the Middle West, the South, and the Far West. It is the second that should especially engage the attention of readers of this journal. I do not suppose that the author is a professional student of language; at any rate, if he is not, he is an uncommonly good observer, and almost perfectly attuned to the spirit of contemporary linguistics. The concept of the sound-pattern, and the whole point of view of modern phonology, are implicit in the following paragraph :

Almost every sound used in American dialects is used somewhere in some British dialect. No British dialect contains the same collection of sounds as any one American dialect, but almost every American pronunciation of simple words can be paralleled or nearly paralleled in some part of Britain.

The chapter also contains some remarks on American intonation that are worth repeating :

The difference in British and American intonation is much more important (sc. than the difference in individual sounds), and this cannot be described on paper except by a series of odd-looking curves and dashes. The only thing to do is to listen to the tune of American speech and become familiar with it.

Remember that a pure English pronunciation spoken to an American tune will pass for American nine times out of ten, but American pronunciation spoken with an English tune will simply sound false and very funny to any American.

The intonation, or tune, however, is entirely foreign and nothing like the English, the Welsh, or the Scottish speech tunes. Irish is the nearest to American in tune, but even there it does not take a sensitive ear to distinguish the differences.

By way of parenthesis, I may be allowed to quote what Mr. A. Lloyd James has to say on the subject of American intonation and rhythm in the Introduction to his *Talks on English Speech* (Linguaphone Institute):

American students who are interested in a comparative treatment of British and American rhythm will find these records a profitable mine of research. The difference in the two rhythms is remarkable, depending upon a different relative treatment of long and short vowels, a difference in the distribution of the so-called neutral vowel, a difference in the treatment of certain medial consonants, and in the whole question of intonation.

These differences, which affect mutual intelligibility, should be the subject of investigation, for they contain the seeds of disintegration; the English-speaking world must speak one language, not *one* in the sense that all its details are alike from San Francisco to London, and from Toronto to Brisbane, but *one* in the sense that telephone communication between these places, or world-wide broadcasting, shall not be hampered by lack of ready understanding. Moreover, the question of literature is involved; American rhythm may be as unsuitable for some British verse, as British rhythm is for some American verse. But be this as it may, students of language must understand that intelligibility depends almost more upon rhythm than upon any other factor.

If, as Mr. Mitchell says, American intonation is entirely different from English, it would seem unduly optimistic to speak of the difference as merely containing the *seeds* of disintegration. However, apart from any utilitarian motives such as those advanced by Mr. Lloyd James, it is certainly high time for students of the English language to divert at least part of the energy they have hitherto been spending on the *history* of English to the vital problems of the present day.

Another valuable remark, valuable in inverse ratio to its brevity, is this one on slang:

Many English people imagine that all Americans use slang. On the contrary, many of them use no slang at all, though new expressions are not looked upon with so much disfavour and suspicion as in Britain.

Intending students of American English should have this paragraph enlarged and framed, and fix it on the wall above their writing-desks.<sup>3</sup>

When, however, Mr. Mitchell proceeds to give "a list of the more important differences of usage in vocabulary," consisting of seventy-two items all told, one would like to refer him to his countryman Horwill's *Dictionary of Modern American Usage*,<sup>4</sup> with its 355 double-column pages, dealing only with words used on both sides of the Atlantic, but with a different meaning or connotation, and excluding slang. No doubt Mr. Mitchell's list might be useful to beginners, and as an index of relative frequency, but he might at least have added a note to that effect.

There is much more in the book that will interest the student of American English; but I must not leave potential readers with the impression that it is a linguistic treatise. It is, as the sub-title says, a practical handbook, for those who intend to travel in America with a view to becoming acquainted with the country and the people. It will give them hints as to where to stay, what

<sup>3</sup> "In any comparison between the English of the United States and that of Britain or other parts of the world, the slang element may be altogether ignored, and yet there will remain more points of difference than either the American or the Englishman will readily think of." Sir William Craigie in *The New York Times Magazine*, August 18, 1935, p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Oxford, 1935. To be reviewed shortly.

to eat, and how much to spend, and all sorts of other information needed on a first visit to a foreign country. But it will do more than that: it will help them to get to know the inhabitants, and to enter into their ways of thinking and feeling, as far as a foreigner may. Students and teachers of English in Holland are apt to look upon America as being out of bounds. I venture to think that this attitude is out of date, a conclusion reached long ago by our colleagues in France and Germany. It would be a good thing if some of us, who dutifully spend our holidays in England year after year, were to make a reconnaissance trip to America for a change. Prices and distances are not what they used to be, and after proper preparation a good deal can be done in a couple of weeks. To the novice Mr. Mitchell's book will serve as an excellent vademecum.

The Hague.

R. W. ZANDVOORT.

---

## Current Letters

### II. Criticism and Biography

The year 1934 has been rather more productive of good critical works and works of biography than of original creative literature. Perhaps the most important (because, as the daily press would put it, the most sensational) is John Carter and Graham Pollard's *Enquiry into the Nature of Certain Nineteenth Century Pamphlets* (Constable, 10/6), a work which caused more than a stir in the world of bibliography and book-collecting. Put very briefly, the contention of the authors is that many copies of notable nineteenth century works which have always been considered genuine first editions and have commanded high prices in the market, are in reality spurious, and the fabrication of some clever forger who, in the eighties and nineties of the last century, printed them with intent to deceive the world of letters, and pre-dated them some fifty years. At first sight the charge seems almost ludicrous, yet Messrs. Carter and Pollard have only formulated their theory after very careful consideration of the evidence. No less than fifty-four works are involved, including editions of Matthew Arnold, Browning, Dickens, George Eliot, Rudyard Kipling, William Morris, Rossetti, Ruskin, Stevenson, Swinburne, Tennyson, Thackeray and Wordsworth; in short, the more famous authors of the day, first editions of whose early works were very scarce and would be eagerly sought after by collectors. Of course, two questions at once arise: on what grounds are these pamphlets pronounced forgeries, and who was the person responsible for their issue? For evidence the authors have gone mainly to type design and the composition of the paper, both of which show the works in question to be almost half a century later than the date printed on the title page. In some cases two kinds of type have been used, each of which must have been produced by a separate type-founder and was unknown before the late eighties, while in the case of others Messrs. Carter and Pollard have actually succeeded in tracing the printers, a reputable firm, still in existence today, who, on examining the works, readily admitted that they must have come from their press, though owing to their early ledgers having been destroyed they

were unable to say for whom the books were printed. So we are left with this conclusion: these fifty-four works seem undoubtedly to be forgeries. Not a single copy of any of them can be traced bearing the autograph of the author, and none were printed before 1888, though all are dated considerably earlier. As for the identity of the forger, that still remains a mystery, though a solution may yet be found.

Turning from the bibliographical side of literature to the aesthetic, one is struck by the increasing attention given to literary theory and questions of style. This is perhaps only natural in an age which is seeking to evolve a new technique, and when the younger generation of writers and critics have thrown down a challenge to all established standards. But though an essayist like Dr. F. R. Leavis (*Determinations*, Chatto & Windus, 7/6) comes forward as the champion of the new heterodoxy, the majority of these works are something in the nature of a defence of the older school against present day extravagances. Bonamy Dobrée's *Modern Prose Style* (Oxford University Press, 6/—), though it contains some hasty judgements on individual authors, is on the whole a sound, level-headed work. Distinguishing three types of prose, Descriptive, Explanatory and Emotive, it proceeds to contrast the style of the twentieth with that of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and finds the main difference in the fact that where the style of Addison, Gibbon and their contemporaries was rhetorical, that of the present day approximates more nearly to the conversational. Professor E. de Selincourt's *Oxford Lectures on Poetry* (Oxford University Press, 10/—) range over a wide variety of subjects, from Chaucer to *The Testament of Beauty*, but in essence they are a refutation of the contention sometimes advanced, that the poet must of necessity be a mystic — a dangerous theory, Professor de Selincourt holds, which too often leads to the assumption that "vision" and "inspiration" may excuse slovenliness of expression. The true poet must express noble thoughts in noble language, and frequently the most seemingly natural verses are those which have been most carefully polished, as was the case with *Comus* and *Lycidas*. In *The Poet as Citizen and Other Papers* (Cambridge University Press, 9/—) Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch denounces that perverted kind of individualism which is at the root of so much of our modernist poetry, and which actually is nothing but a form of egoism. In art as in life, declares Sir Arthur, egoism is a vice, and as such should never be tolerated. But the poet is not always to blame; the critic who is constantly probing beneath a work of art to find some self-revelation on the part of the writer, or some reflection of his private life, must share the censure in so far as he helps to foster the idea that the best poetry is ego-centric. If the poet's task is to awaken a consciousness of harmony within and without, the critic's is to study "the stuff the poet wrote", relating it not to the individual but to the universal. It is in this spirit that, in the second part of the book, Sir Arthur undertakes his own criticism of the poetical works of Tennyson and William Barnes and the early novels of Thomas Hardy.

Michael Roberts takes his stand on something of the same ground in his *Critique of Poetry* (Jonathan Cape, 7/6). Setting out with the assumption that in matters of aesthetic criticism all judgements must necessarily be relative and that there can be no final and absolute truth in a matter so subjective, he postulates that the primary duty of the critic is to elucidate technique and meaning, not to judge the ethical value of a work of art. Unfortunately he tends to be over-dogmatic in his pronouncements, so that we often want to ask

him to substantiate his statements; but if the book is provocative, that makes it all the more worthy of attention. A certain amount of Mr. Roberts' writing will strike the reader as a reiteration of the commonplace, but there are two excellent chapters on the poetic use of symbolism, in which both its values and its dangers are considered. Mr. Roberts is careful to distinguish between a symbol that is purely emotive on the one hand, and a logical sign on the other; and he does, too, make a sincere attempt to appreciate the poetry of cynicism and disillusion which is now being produced, though the spirit of it is foreign to his own.

Mr. James Sutherland has, too, some discerning things to say in his little volume *The Medium of Poetry* (Hogarth Press, 3/6), the purpose of which, he tells us in his introduction, "is to examine how far the medium of poetry influences the mind of the poet, and so, indirectly, his poem." To make clear his position, he distinguishes two main types of poetry; on the one hand that represented by Wordsworth, in which the aim is to give exact expression to the emotions evoked by "a particular experience", and on the other the type of which Keats provides the outstanding example. In this case the poet places primary stress not upon ideas, but upon modes of expression and the sensations they arouse. It is to be noted that where Wordsworth's revisions of a verse or phrase were always in the direction of greater clarity, so that the *idea* could be conveyed with more accuracy, Keats' often obscured the precise logical meaning, but enhanced the picturesque and sensuous elements. There are, then, Mr. Sutherland concludes, two important factors involved in the composition of poetry; first the original experience, demanding expression; secondly a whole host of associations, memories and impulses which crowd into the poet's mind during the period of composition. The greater part of the essay is concerned with a discussion of the extent to which some of these factors (Rhythm, Rhyme, Words, Thought-Form and reminiscences of other writers) may influence the poet and his work. Mr. Sutherland notes, for instance, how almost all these help to shape the thought of a poem, and how, in its turn, the thought conditions, to some extent, the medium through which it is expressed. Particularly suggestive is his concluding chapter, in which he discusses the difference between legitimate imitation of a great poet (often unconsciously), either in thought, phraseology or verse-form, and that slavish aping of style and idiom which is so often the resort of mediocrity. The book is written primarily for the average reader who is interested enough in poetry to inquire into the technical side of it, but the student also will find much in it to stimulate thought and prompt further excursions into the subject.

If it be true that no writer has ever quite reached that point where he "never deviates into sense", some modern poets come perilously near it, and these receive a severe castigation in John Sparrow's *Sense and Poetry* (Constable, 7/6), one of the most honest and fearless examinations of "modernist" verse that has yet appeared. For some time now a strange superstition has been current that if a poem seems meaningless it must be profound; Mr. Sparrow is the first critic with the courage to smash that idol, and to smash it ruthlessly. There is a vast difference, he points out, between "difficult" poetry, such as that of the metaphysicals or of Blake, which can be understood once we grasp the symbolism or system of thought upon which it is founded, and "meaningless" poetry, which seeks to eliminate all significance from words and phrases and presents the reader with an unintelligible medley of disjointed language. Disciples of the moderns will, no doubt, accuse Mr.

Sparrow of being old-fashioned and conservative; yet he is generous enough to concede that a modernist poet probably has a meaning — the difficulty is to find it, since "he has allowed himself such freedom in the use he makes of association that his work is, in practice, impossible to understand." Mr. Sparrow is a skilful as well as discerning critic, always ready to support his statements by apt quotation; and on the whole he is fair, even to those with whose judgement or practice he disagrees. He has no axe to grind. He crosses swords dexterously with Mr. F. R. Leavis, to whom he finds himself opposed from the very beginning; Ezra Pound comes in for some severe censure, while the work of W. H. Auden is held up as "a monument to the misguided aims that prevail among contemporary poets." "The fact that he is hailed as a master", concludes the author, "shows how criticism is helping poetry on the downward road."

With *The Trend of Modern Poetry* (Oliver and Boyd, 6/—) Professor Geoffrey Bullough comes forward as advocate for the new school of verse as represented in the work of T. S. Eliot, whom he considers one of the most significant figures writing today. "Mr. Eliot", he declares, "crystallised post-war dissatisfaction with the decaying standards of individualism, however much some might quarrel with his remedies." This remark, however, must not be taken to imply that Professor Bullough has not done justice to the other schools of modern poetry. On the contrary, his book gives a fair and sympathetic consideration to every outstanding movement of our time. Edmund Blunden and Miss Sackville-West, it is true, are passed over rather slightly as survivals of an older tradition, and perhaps a little too much praise is expended on the work of the Poet-Laureate, but the Georgians, with their zest for life and their youthful optimism, suffer from no lack of appreciation, while D. H. Lawrence, than whom a greater contrast to T. S. Eliot could not be imagined, finds a most understanding interpreter in Professor Bullough.<sup>1</sup>

Side by side with this work one might read Professor Bernhard Fehr's *Die Englische Literatur der Heutigen Stunde als Ausdruck der Zeitwende und der Englischen Kulturgemeinschaft* (Tauchnitz, RM. 2.50.) which takes up one of the more important points touched on by Professor Bullough (disillusion in individualist ideals) and carries the examination into a wider field. The reader may feel disposed to question some of the author's conclusions; he may even feel that he has done less than justice to one or two tendencies in contemporary literature, but for all that, the book is of interest as an interpretation of modern developments in English letters. Starting with the typical Georgian theme of the struggle between the two generations, Professor Fehr proceeds to show that the excessive individualism of the younger school of writers two decades ago was born of a genuine idealism, and modern youth, he insists, is still inspired with the same desire to establish a new Heaven and a new earth, but it has become disillusioned in the methods advocated a few years ago, and is looking for a leader of strong personality to whom it can entrust the task. Hence he finds the dominant tendency of modern English literature in what he styles "die Sehnsucht nach dem Weltführer". In support

<sup>1</sup> There is, incidentally, a useful synthetic review of various critical opinions on the work of T. S. Eliot, by Michael Roberts, in *The Poetry Review* of November 1932, while the present writer has contributed studies of seven living poets (Edmund Blunden, Laurence Binyon, Sir William Watson, Walter de la Mare, John Drinkwater, John Masefield and Roy Campbell) to the same journal, July 1932—July 1933.

of his thesis he notes the renewed interest in biography as a type of literature, the revival of the historical novel, and above all the success of a number of books dealing with Hitler and Nazi Germany. Professor Fehr has cast his net very widely; indeed, much of the material adduced to substantiate his thesis falls outside the sphere of pure literature, and belongs rather to the field of the political and sociological treatise. There is, of course, much to be said for his point of view, but on the other hand a great deal of work is being produced in England, by the younger as well as the older generation, of which he takes too little account, and which makes necessary some modification of his conclusions.

And now, having surveyed these general treatises, let us pass on to a consideration of a few books dealing with individual writers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The Coleridge centenary produced several works, not all of any great significance, upon the life and work of the poet of *The Ancient Mariner*. Coleridge, *Studies of His Life and Work*, edited by Edmund Blunden and E. L. Griggs (Constable, 10/6) is a collection of interesting and suggestive essays by various hands. Mr. Blunden himself writes upon "Coleridge and Christ Hospital", advancing the suggestion that the poet's love of the mediaeval and supernatural was fostered in him as a schoolboy by the eerie walks through the school cloisters, while Mr. A. J. Eaglestone, in "Wordsworth, Coleridge and the Spy" tells the rather amusing story of how the authorities were hoaxed by a local rumour that the two poets were military spies, mapping out the country around Alfoxden for the benefit of the French when they should invade England. Home Office documents which he has discovered actually show that detectives were sent to watch the two suspects, but were finally convinced that their suspicions were groundless. Every paper in the volume is not marked by the same degree of scholarship, but all are pleasantly written, and all throw interesting sidelights upon the life and character of the poet.

The majority of critical works upon Wordsworth have concentrated almost exclusively upon the earlier period of his literary activity, passing over the latter half of his life somewhat slightly as a period of decadence. Against this practice Miss Edith C. Batho voices a spirited protest in her book *The Later Wordsworth* (Cambridge University Press, 1933, 16/—), "an attempt", to use her own words, "to discover what were his real opinions in the latter half of his life, how far they were in agreement with, or in contradiction to, those of the earlier half; the impression which he made upon his contemporaries, and his attitude towards them." Miss Batho has formulated her conclusions mainly from a careful examination of Wordsworth's own writings, though she has also gone to the works of his contemporaries, and in particular to the manuscript of Crabb Robinson's diary in the Dr. Williams Library in London. Her chief concern is to refute the "lost leader" attitude of so many critics and to show that actually, in the spheres of politics, religion and literature, a definite continuity of principle is discernible. Changing times and conditions made necessary a re-orientation of the poet's attitude towards the great issues of the day, but always, Miss Batho insists, the basic principles were the same. Against the usual charge of compromise and insincerity brought by so many critics, she places the fact that in his later life (i.e., after 1815, the starting-point of the work), many of Wordsworth's contemporaries were impressed by his genuine interest in politics, his fervent religious zeal and his strength of character. Again, she points out, we are always prepared to ascribe much of Byron's

pessimism to his physical deformity and to attribute Matthew Arnold's to the circumstances of his private life; why should not the same indulgence, then, be granted to Wordsworth, who, for many years before his death, was afflicted by a disease of the eyes and was on the verge of blindness? Miss Batho heads her final chapter "The Unconquerable Mind", and that, in fact, is the best summary that could be given of her portrait of the later Wordsworth.

A complementary volume to this is Professor E. de Selincourt's *Dorothy Wordsworth* (Oxford University Press, 1933, 21/—), a noble attempt to do justice to a figure who has always been overshadowed by her brother. The book is pleasantly written, for to a large extent the author allows Dorothy to tell her own story through her letters and diary; and a loveable, attractive character she appears. Her outstanding trait is that of self-renunciation and devotion to others — to her brother and his children particularly. That a real affection existed between her and Coleridge Professor de Selincourt never doubts, but he is equally certain that there was no question of frustrated and alienated love; it was rather a question of self-renunciation for the sake of her own immediate relatives. The character sketch given in this volume is set forth with clarity and insight, free from all pedantry and from that annoying tendency of some biographers to build up fantastic psychological theories around their subject.

A companion volume to Mr. Blunden's *Coleridge* is to be found in his *Charles Lamb, His Life as Recorded by his Contemporaries* (Hogarth Press, 7/6), another centenary volume; but a much more important work than this is J. Lewis May's *Charles Lamb, a Study* (Geoffrey Bles, 10/6). His book was not, the author assures us, conceived with an eye to the centenary celebrations, since the work was first undertaken some years ago, but it appears very opportunely. Again, Mr. May denies any scholarly intentions in the stricter sense of the word; he has, he declares, read very few books about Lamb, more especially modern books, and his primary aim has been to give as human a picture as possible of his personality as it can be gleaned from his own works. On the whole he has succeeded. He himself is a lover and admirer of Lamb, "even to his vices", as he confesses; he regards him as an author essentially English in temper, and in a thoughtful essay, by interpretation and skilful persuasion, he attempts to make us share that love. Perhaps now and then he loses himself in panegyric, but although he disclaims all scholarly intentions, even in his very human treatment of his subject he generally preserves the balance and level-headedness of the trained scholar. Of course, to Mr. May, as to most of us, Elia is the consummation of Lamb, but, quite rightly it seems, he holds that Elia is not fully comprehensible without a study of the letters, and one of the most valuable contributions he has to make is an examination of this correspondence. The essays, too, he insists, are no mere trivialities, inconsequential as they appear; every one of them is the result of the unconscious activity of a number of years, the accumulation of the experience and the wisdom of a lifetime, so that in a very real sense they are a record of Lamb's spiritual growth and development. No pen-portrait quite like this of Mr. Day's has appeared in English since Lord David Cecil's *The Stricken Deer*.

Miss Isobel C. Clarke's *Shelley and Byron, a Tragic Friendship* (Hutchinson, 18/—) suffers from being too discursive and casual. It covers the years 1816—1823, and the scene is mainly Italy. So far as Byron is concerned it is the story of his relations with Clair Clairmont and the Countess Teresa Guiccioli; with Shelley it is the period of his domestic difficulties and tragedies.

Miss Clarke is better known as a novelist than as a biographer, and the novelist's hand has certainly left its mark upon the present work. Clair is presented as something of a tragic heroine. The author tries to exculpate her as much as she can and to present her in the end as something of a pathetic figure, more sinned against than sinning; but in spite of the case that Miss Clarke attempts to insinuate, we cannot but feel that she was an evil genius in the lives of both poets, and that she brought much of her misery upon herself. The whole of Miss Clarke's book seems unduly weighted in favour of the women characters in the tragedy. Almost without exception they are romantically presented as victims of a malign fate or of men who were indifferent to their sufferings. On the historical side as distinct from the psychological and sentimental, however, Miss Clarke is more reliable; much of her material has come from the diaries and correspondence of the friends of Shelley and Byron when they were in Italy, so her book can be taken, thus far at least, as an accurate record of what was to prove a tragic friendship.

In *Keat's Craftsmanship, a Study in Poetic Development* (Oxford University Press, 1933, 15/—) Mr. M. R. Ridley has set himself the task of conducting a critical enquiry into Keats' methods of composition in the light of his oft-quoted assertion that "if poetry does not come naturally, it had better not come at all". His examination does not embrace the whole of Keats' poetical works; he confines his attention to *Isabella*, *Hyperion*, *The Eve of St. Agnes*, *Lamia*, *The Fall of Hyperion*, a few odes, and notably the *Ode to Autumn*, but since these pieces represent the perfection of the poet's art the restricted limits of the enquiry need not be regretted. The main point that the author makes is that Keats was mistaken when he supposed that the best work could be accomplished by leisurely writing, for some of the most beautiful of his own verses are those like the *Ode to Autumn*, "the most serenely flawless poem in our language", written as the result of momentary inspiration. The question of revision is an important one. There is ample evidence from the manuscripts, declares Mr. Ridley, that lines and words were frequently altered before the poems attained their final form, but all the evidence goes to show that these alterations were an essential part of the process of composition, which Keats regarded in the light of an experiment in expression; once he had finished a poem he rarely revised it. Mr. Ridley's book is a careful and instructive examination of its subject, but it is not without its faults. The tone is apt to become slightly pontifical in places, and the author tends to approach the more delicate imagery of Keats in a rationalist frame of mind which refuses to allow him to appreciate its beauty until he has satisfied himself that it "means something", in the logical, prosaic sense of that phrase. Still, for all these objections, the book was well worth writing, and a student of Keats will find in it much that will cause him to reflect, and perhaps to re-value the poet.

To the greater nineteenth century poets who lived after the passing of the early romantic school, critics have devoted but little attention. For a year or two now not a great deal of any importance has appeared on Tennyson, Browning<sup>2</sup> or Matthew Arnold; but after being virtually neglected since his death, Gerard Manly Hopkins has suddenly sprung into popularity and his works are attracting considerable attention both in this country and in America. No doubt the revival of interest is due to a certain affinity between Hopkins and the modern spirit as expressed in writers like T. S. Eliot and

<sup>2</sup> Mention should be made, however, of H. L. Hovelague's *La Jeunesse de Browning* (Paris, Les Presses Modernes, 1933).

Ezra Pound. In *The Poetry of Gerard Manly Hopkins* (Cambridge University Press, 6/—) Miss E. E. Phare makes a none too successful attempt to interpret and explain his works. The book is intended as an appreciation, but in reality it approaches nearer to a panegyric, for Miss Phare is a fervent admirer of Hopkins, and this leads her into a number of rather rash generalisations. Her criticism is altogether too vague and superficial. After calling Hopkins a "Victorian modernist" (whatever that may mean), she proceeds to compare him with Wordsworth, merely because she finds a kind of pantheism outlined in his poems, and because he attempted to interpret the mind and heart of simple folk in some of his verses. That most of these "simple" poems happen to be failures deters Miss Phare no whit from labouring the comparison. His fondness for irregular metres and a modified kind of free verse she explains as a revulsion from the monotony of the atmosphere of the Jesuit order — not a very convincing explanation, one feels. Altogether the book gives the impression of having been hastily written, without adequate preparation, reading or planning.

Haste and superficiality, unfortunately, seem to be characteristic of many modern biographies and works of criticism. Agnes de la Gorce's *Francis Thompson* (1933), an English translation of which has been published by Burns, Oates and Washbourne (5/—), is marred by the strong Catholic bias of the author, who attempts to attribute all that was great and worth-while in Thompson's poetry to the influence of the Church of Rome, in spite of the fact that some of his best religious verses might have come equally well from the pen of a Protestant, or even of a Quaker. A much more scholarly and comprehensive study of the same poet, however, is to be found in Professor Federico Olivero's *Francis Thompson* (Brescia, Morcelliana, L. 20). Though the author of this work insists upon the poet's fundamentally religious conception of his art, he has avoided the uncritical bias of his predecessor in the field. Thompson's poetry is treated from the various points of view of content, style, metre, influences, poetic theory, etc., and on every head the author has something original and worth-while to say. The section which traces out the evolution of the poet's theory of verse is particularly illuminating, while the chapter on the reminiscences and influences of earlier writers is a tribute to the width and thoroughness of the author's reading in English literature. This is by far the soundest and most scholarly study of Francis Thompson which has yet been written, and it is to be hoped that sooner or later an English translation will appear, so that those of Thompson's own countrymen who love his poetry but are unable to read Italian, may have the benefit of Professor Olivero's scholarship and critical acumen.

Like Agnes de la Gorce's work, Armand Guibert's *Rupert Brooke* (Genoa, Emiliano degli Orfini, 1933, L. 14), is spoiled by an uncritical attitude, born of inordinate hero-worship. The circumstances of Brooke's death almost inevitably invite comparison with Keats, and the comparison is laboured beyond all reason. The whole work is too sentimentalised to be accepted as a very valuable contribution to critical literature, though it is notable as the first attempt to assess the achievement and poetic significance of a writer who at one time was hailed as a potentially great poet. It contains suggestions which are worth following out further, but on the whole it should be read with caution, and due allowance made for the author's excess of enthusiasm. It may be added that although the book comes from an Italian publishing house, it is written in French.

Of a totally different order is Thomas Moul's little book, *W. H. Davies*, in the Modern Writers Series (Thornton Butterworth, 4/6). It is the first study<sup>3</sup> of Mr. Davies and his work which has yet appeared, and though it can be called no more than an introduction, it is a good one. Partly biographical and partly critical, it traces out Mr. Davies' development from his early tramping days, "when he could spit and curse and go hungry with the rest of them", to his emergence as "the genius who had gone forth into the great green world of nature, the red world of the revolutionary, the many-coloured world of the lover, of the man of religion, of the philosopher, and returned from none of them without his matchless harvest of shining song." The book is pleasantly written, with real appreciation and understanding, honest and restrained in criticism, and free from excessive panegyric. Mr. Moul has had the advantage of personal contact with the poet he discusses, and that is always an asset to a critic or a biographer.

Since Allardyce Nicoll's two-volume survey of a few years ago (which did not go beyond 1850), the drama of the nineteenth century has received little attention.<sup>4</sup> Leslie H. Meeks, however, has given us a discerning study of one of the most important figures of the mid-Victorian age in his *Sheridan Knowles and the Theatre of his Time* (Williams and Norgate, 15/-). Though it is conceived as a biography, it throws many interesting sidelights on the theatrical world of the day, for a study of Knowles means a study of the contemporary stage, with which he was so intimately associated. By profession Knowles was a schoolmaster and a Baptist preacher; it was only by accident, as it were, that he became a dramatist, yet as Mr. Meeks shows us, he had a genuine gift for poetry and was master of many of the finer graces of the playwright's art. Moreover, he did much to foster friendship between England and America both through the popularity of his plays as stage-pieces and by the charm of his personality. To most students of literature he is merely a name. He has long been waiting for someone to rescue him from an unmerited oblivion, and in this book Mr. Meeks has gone far towards vindicating his right to recognition. Perhaps the author is a little too severe in his strictures on the Shakespeare vogue of the day, though he is doubtless correct in attributing to it the stifling of much potential creative ability in contemporary writers, and hence, ultimately, the sterility of the nineteenth century theatre.

*John Galsworthy*, by Hermon Ould (Chapman & Hall, 8/6) is an intimate and delightful portrait of one of the best known of modern English dramatists, written by one who was his friend for a number of years, and is still the secretary of the P.E.N. club, of which Galsworthy was the first President. Based upon personal reminiscences, it is an attempt to interpret and elucidate Galsworthy's personality and to explain the concepts underlying his plays. "I feel that the man Galsworthy, as I knew him," writes Mr. Ould, "is perfectly revealed in his books." He was, he insists, an out and out individualist, yet he had little sympathy with the mob, which to him appeared the greatest enemy of all that was best in democracy. It is impossible to do justice to Mr. Ould's book in so limited a space; suffice it to say that it is most readable, and at the same time most valuable as a first-hand interpretation of a great writer. More

<sup>3</sup> Apart from a few articles in periodicals, such as that by L. Bonnerot, "William H. Davies, poète-vagabond", *Revue Anglo-Américaine*, Febr. 1931, pp. 208-20.

<sup>4</sup> Camillo Pelizzi's *Il Teatro Inglese* (Milan, Treves, L. 12) touches on the subject, but deals mainly with modern drama, from about 1885 onwards.

scholarly works may appear upon his technique and methods; others may attempt to assess his historical position and importance in the development of English drama, but this is a book on the man himself, and as such must hold a distinct place in Galsworthy literature.

Priscilla Thoules' *Modern Poetic Drama* (Blackwell, 15/—), commendable enough in its intentions, is sadly disappointing in execution. It is not well planned, nor does the author preserve any sense of proportionate treatment. Minor figures are dealt with at some length, while really important writers of the poetic play are dismissed very briefly or omitted altogether. Moreover she seems more happy in criticism than in appreciation, for few authors come out of her scrutiny blameless, while her judgements of others are necessarily biased because she assesses them only on a few of their plays, and these not always the best ones. On some half-dozen figures, most of them minor ones, she has suggestive criticisms to make, but on the others her remarks are rather beside the point.

Hesketh Pearson's *The Fool of Love* (Hamish Hamilton, 10/6), purporting to be a biography of Hazlitt, lays itself open to the same charge. All attempt at methodical and proportionate treatment is abandoned, while only too frequently the author allows his imagination unwarrantable liberty. Hazlitt is held up to us as the rather pathetic dupe of his own affections; of the other side of his character as revealed in his works little is said, and the comparison of Hazlitt with Othello does not seem a very happy one.

*Carlyle in Old Age*, on the other hand (Kegan Paul, 15/—), the sixth volume of Alec Wilson's ambitious biography, is a most competent piece of work, fully documented and based on detailed research. By the year in which this volume opens (1865) Carlyle had retired to Chelsea to live on his reputation; in the next year his wife died and left him a lonely old man, but his wonder at the great miracle of life never burned dim. It is a magnificent figure that Mr. Wilson paints for us, if a tragic one. Unfortunately, at the end of 1933, after preparing the materials for his volume, the author died, and it is to his nephew, Mr. D. Wilson McArthur that credit is due for seeing it through the press.

One of the most interesting of critical biographies produced of late is that of Edgar Allen Poe, by Dame Una Pope-Hennessy (Macmillan, 10/6).<sup>5</sup> The discovery of a number of new and hitherto unsuspected letters in 1925 has given the author a vast amount of fresh material, quite unknown to previous writers, and has enabled her to correct many errors of long standing, while research among contemporary periodicals has shown her that much of Poe's work was written earlier than has usually been assumed. She has, too, made several notable discoveries as to the origin of Poe's critical theories — which, she insists, have never been appreciated at their full worth — and has performed a most useful piece of work in tracing out the influence of these theories on the European symbolists. As Dame Una presents Poe he is a tragic figure, a man of real genius with vast possibilities, forced by circumstances to debase his art and turn to journalism to make a living. If the craving for fame which she charges upon him is to be accounted a weakness of character, it was not that alone which caused him to suffer as he did. His is the story of a genius dogged by misfortune, and Dame Una tells that story without any kind of sentimentality or melodrama.

<sup>5</sup> In future, American authors will be dealt with separately by Professor Lüdeke. — E.d.

Lord David Cecil's *Early Victorian Novelists* (Constable, 10/—) is a clever and penetrating piece of work which must hold a high place in present day criticism — just the sympathetic, understanding, yet honest kind of book we should expect from the author of *The Stricken Deer*. Instead of essaying still another general history of the nineteenth century novel, the author takes in turn some of the outstanding figures of the age and treats them individually, bringing out clearly their achievements and their failures, their aesthetic triumphs and shortcomings; so the work resolves itself into a re-valuation of Dickens, Thackeray, the Brontës, Mrs. Gaskell, Trollope, and George Eliot, while an introductory survey gives a brief but discerning analysis of the main tendencies in the Victorian world of letters. Lord Cecil has no axe to grind and no thesis to prove; his work is neither a condemnation nor a vindication of the literature of the last century; the writings of each novelist are examined lucidly and dispassionately, always with an eye to the standards and restrictions of the day, and while not a single one escapes censure on some score or other, in every case the critic is careful to give credit where it is due. This individualised method of criticism is not, of course, incompatible with the adoption of a sense of historical perspective. Indeed, while Lord Cecil keeps his gaze steadily on the Victorians, he does not omit to relate them to the writers of the next generation. This is especially apparent in the case of George Eliot, "the first of the moderns", as he styles her, on whose work a more discerning piece of creative criticism has never yet appeared. If anything will militate against the general popularity of these essays it is their very candour and fairness. The one on Dickens, for instance, will probably displease the Dickensians because of its refusal to idolise its subject and extol him to the skies, while it will be equally unacceptable to those who "cannot stand Dickens at any price", because it insists so strongly on his merits and unique qualities. Those who do not want their prejudices disturbed had better not read this book; but those who come to it with an open mind will find in it enjoyable reading (for it is a work of literature in itself), as well as far-seeing and suggestive criticism.

The same author's *Sir Walter Scott* (Constable, 10/—), Anna T. Kitchell's *George Lewis and George Eliot* (New York, The George Day Publishing Co., \$ 2.50) and Paul Bourl'honne's *George Eliot, Essai de Biographie Intellectuelle* (Paris, Champion, 35 fr.) are well worth the attention of the student of nineteenth century letters, especially the last-named, as it advances the novel theory that George Eliot's attitude to life was always that of an adolescent, while her pre-occupation with moral problems betrays an immature mind which knew little of the realities of life. Not all readers will agree with M. Bourl'honne; the majority, in fact, will probably disagree, but that makes it all the more imperative that they should read the book to see a side of the question different from their own.

After a period of comparative neglect, Dickens is once more coming into his own. Besides Lord Cecil's essay mentioned above, at least two notable books have appeared upon him during the past year. André Maurois' *Dickens*, translated into English by Hamish Miles and published by John Lane (5/—), is an attempt to re-habilitate Dickens with the present generation, and as such, devotes a good deal of space to emphasising his merits. Perhaps one can be forgiven for the assertion that it is not quite an honest book, since it gives the impression of being an attempt to establish a pre-conceived theory, and selecting facts to suit this purpose. Hugh Kingsmill's *A Sentimental Journey*,

or the *Life of Charles Dickens* (Wishart, 10/6) at first sight appears to be iconoclastic in its aim; but actually it is an honest, and in the main a successful, effort to present a realistic and balanced picture of Dickens the man. Mr. Kingsmill, who is already well-known for several biographies, maintains that though Dickens had many sterling qualities in his character which he would not seek to belittle, the great defect of his composition was a tendency to sympathise over-much with himself, perhaps a legacy from his early years. His interests were always ego-centric, and this led to two marked characteristics of his work: 1) A tendency to excessive sentiment and pathos, 2) A certain intolerance, which refused to let him see that there was more than one side to a question. The Dickens-lover will find a good deal that will displease him in this book, for if it is well thought-out and well written, it is also highly provocative. However, whether he can agree with Mr. Kingsmill's views or not, he will find them well worth consideration, for the arguments are marshalled with skill and force, and the illustrations well chosen.

A most fascinating character sketch and biography is to be found in A. J. A. Symons' *The Quest for Corvo* (Cassell, 12/6), the story of the eccentric Frederick Rolfe<sup>6</sup>, self-styled Baron Corvo, who failed to achieve success in several professions and died in poverty at Venice in 1913. Mr. Symons has an engaging way of writing, and although founded on fact in every detail, the book reads like a clever novel. Then there is Paul Bloomfield's *William Morris* (Arthur Barker, 10/—), which treats of Morris the prophet as distinct from the practical reformer and experimenter. It is a well written and well balanced book, full of thought and characterised by careful and profound judgement. The chapters which deal with Morris' political agitations are written with an understanding sympathy; but Mr. Bloomfield is at his best on the literary side. By temperament, he insists, Morris was a poet, drawing his inspiration from the Middle Ages and seeking even in his political agitations to bring poetry into life. This is undoubtedly one of the best books on Morris which has appeared of recent years.

Works on D. H. Lawrence still continue to come from the press. E. and A. Brewster's *D. H. Lawrence, Reminiscences and Correspondence* (Secker, 10/6) stresses the importance of knowing Lawrence personally and not merely through his books, while *Lorenzo in Taos*, by Mabel D. Luhan (Secker, 10/6), gives us an intimate picture of the last six years of his life, which were spent for the most part in New Mexico. But one of the most ambitious works of the year 1934 was H. G. Wells' *Experiment in Autobiography*, complete in two volumes (Gollancz, 10/6 each). Mr. Wells would never write a book quite like anyone else, and this is much more than a biography as the term is generally understood. Mr. Wells sketches in the details of his life as only he could, stressing what he considers to be the salient facts

<sup>6</sup> Rolfe's works are not well known, even to English students of letters, for the simple reason that the earlier ones were failures and were ignored by the public of his day, and as a result publishers refused to handle the later productions, so that some of the writings which Mr. Symons considers his best still remain in manuscript. Most important among those published during his life-time are a volume of peasant tales, entitled *In His Own Image*, and a strange fantasy, *Hadrian VII*, in which the author, at the time studying for the Roman Catholic priesthood, from which he was later expelled, dreams that he has become an English Pope. He also wrote an autobiographical novel, the manuscript of which Mr. Symons has discovered. Needless to say, *The Quest for Corvo* is largely founded upon this romance, supplemented by a large number of Rolfe's letters and private papers, which the author has been at great pains to track down.

about his career and bringing out the influences which went to the moulding of his outlook upon the world, so that the impression that the book leaves with us is that of a series of lights and shades. He tells the story of his life, that is to say, much as he told the story of the life of Kipps and Mr. Lewisham, laying stress on the part played by social environment, especially in the early stages. But the ego-centric character of the biography is not over-conspicuous, and this because the canvas is a broad one. Around himself Mr. Wells sketches in the whole of his world and the great problems by which, at each of its stages, it has been agitated. For him the story of his life is the story of his literary activity, and since this activity has embraced such a diversity of subjects and has brought him into contact with eminent people in so many walks of life, his book ultimately becomes a sketch of English intellectual society during the last half century. We may not always agree with his estimate of the literary and political figures of his day, but his remarks always throw illuminating sidelights upon them — and incidentally also upon Mr. Wells himself. Social and political theories loom large in the book; there is a good deal of discussion and theorising which we should not expect to find in the orthodox biography; but then that is to be expected in any work by Mr. Wells. It is by no means easy reading, and a single perusal will not suffice to give any more than a vague idea of what it is all about. Most people will probably find that they want to go back to it again and again, and at every reading they will find fresh material for thought and debate.

Sheffield.

FREDERICK T. WOOD.

### Brief Mention

*Drydens Fabeln und ihre Quellen.* Von WOLFGANG JÜNEMANN. (*Britannica*, hrsg. von E. Wolff, no. 5). Pp. 103. Hamburg: Friederichsen, de Gruyter & Co. 1932. RM. 5.—.

The title of this thesis gives only an approximate indication of its contents. Mr. Jünemann's is a study in technique rather than a mere collation of sources; it is, therefore, much more valuable and engrossing than the rather jejune title would lead one to expect. The comparison with the Chaucerian originals of *Palamon and Arcite*, *The Cock and the Fox*, *The Wife of Bath her Tale*, *The Flower and the Leaf*, *The Character of a Good Parson*, brings out very clearly the essential difference of treatment between the two poets, which can be summed up roughly by saying that "Starrheit auf einmal in Bewegung, Statik in Dynamik sich wandelt," or that Chaucer's technique is *additiv*, Dryden's *multiplikativ*. Dryden's treatment provides a good illustration of baroque taste, for "Barock ist beständiges Spiel mit den Bildern, ihre Spiegelung und Widerspiegelung, ist beständiges Werden und Wachsen," "absolute Auflösung aller Statik in beständigen Fluss, in unendliche Melodie." The freedom of this endless movement is, however, only apparent; Dryden's is a controlled confusion, a clockwork melody; his baroque is strongly qualified by an admixture of French influence, to which the true spirit of the Baroque was ever alien; it achieves its triumphs in passages with an epigrammatic edge, like the following (from *The Cock and the Fox*):

Brown bread, and milk (but first she skimmed her bowls),  
And rashers of singed bacon on the coals.  
On holy days an egg or two at most;  
But her ambition never reached to roast.

with which compare Chaucer's corresponding passage, unadorned with the *panache* of wit:

Milk and broun breed, in which she foond no lak,  
 Seynd bacoun, and sontyme an ey or tweye;  
 For she was, as it were, a maner deye.

The comparison with Boccaccio's original of *Sigismonda* and *Guiscardo* is less enlightening, since Boccaccio supplies Dryden with little more than a plot. However, Mr. Jünemann ably contrasts Boccaccio's sober narrative with Dryden's "barock monumentalem Pathos." — M. P.

*George Berkeley und die englische Literatur.* Von HANS JOACHIM OERTEL. Pp. viii + 146. (Studien zur englischen Philologie, LXXX.) Halle: Max Niemeyer. 1934. RM. 6.—.

Both in method and form Berkeley's philosophical message belonged to the age of enlightenment, not, however, as regards its metaphysical and religious nucleus. Therefore his philosophy found no acceptance in that age. His service to literature, apart from a few hints he gave to Steele, Addison, Pope, and Swift, consisted in having brought to perfection the philosophical dialogue. He was too violent an adversary of deism and too loyal a supporter of dogma to be likely to influence the literature of enlightenment; on the other hand he was too much of his own time, being an empiricist who fought for the cause of idealistic tradition, to be able to appear as a forerunner of romantic thought. However, he has a few essential traits in common with romantic thinkers and poets. In *Siris* he upholds the wisdom of the past against Newton's mechanized universe and relinquishes his empirical basis for a kind of magical idealism; he contrasts the decay of Europe with the possibility of resuscitating the golden age in the virgin American surroundings, and anticipates the scheme of Pantisocracy in his dream about Bermuda, which Marvell had already imagined under the spell of an eternal spring. Of his philosophical theories, the romantics (with the exception of Blake, whose pencil notes on a copy of *Siris*, which Mr. Oertel is the first to study in detail, show a completely different standpoint) paid attention chiefly to the conception of nature as God's language in signs ("The whole sensible universe is a system of signs"), and to the theory that all things have existence only as ideas of a mind. The romantics' misunderstanding of this latter theory caused Berkeley to be misrepresented as an illusionist during the nineteenth century. The real father of romantic illusion is Coleridge. Berkeley's influence is chiefly felt in Coleridge's poems, and in Shelley's theories. In Shelley one sees the direct link between Berkeley's theory of perception and romantic aesthetics. While Wordsworth and Shelley remained for a longer period faithful to the spirit of Berkeley's philosophy, the spreading of the knowledge of Kant and the German idealists, as well as the renewed study of Plato, Plotinus, Spinoza, Leibnitz, the Cambridge Platonists, and Swedenborg, prevented Berkeley's influence from establishing itself permanently. Mr. Oertel brings his well-planned study down to modern times, in which A. Whitehead seems to him the spiritual successor of Berkeley. — M. P.

Acknowledgement is made of a number of offprints of articles dealing with the study of place-names by Prof. R. E. Zachrisson, of the University of Uppsala, Sweden. The subjects discussed are "The Place-Names of Dorsetshire in the Light of the Terminal Rule" (*Studia Neophilologica* 1934), "Descriptive Words or Personal Names in Old English Place-Name Compounds" (*Ibid.*), "Uncompounded Low German -ing Names Containing Personal Names" (*Ibid.*), "Germanic Etymologies" (*Studia Germanica*, tillägnade E. A. Kock, 1934), and "English Place-Name Compounds Containing Descriptive Nouns in the Genitive" (*Englische Studien*, 1935).

Also of an offprint of an article "Zur synchronischen Analyse fremden Sprachguts" by Prof. V. Mathesius, of Prague (*Engl. Studien*, 1935), and of one by Prof. P. Meissner, of Breslau, on "Das Goldene Zeitalter in der Englischen Renaissance" (*Anglia*, 1935).

## Bibliography

## PERIODICALS

**Neophilologus.** XX, 1. Oct. 1934. L. P. H. Eijkman, Nasality again (25-30). — **Id.** XX, 2. Jan. 1935. A. Dekker, Some observations in connection with B. Trnka: *On the Syntax of the English Verb from Caxton to Dryden* (113-120). — W. Matthews, Samuel Pepys and Spain (120-129). — **Id.** XX, 3 & 4, April & Juli 1935. R. Volbeda, The 'Definite Forms.' (198-212 & 287-299).

**Publications of the Modern Language Association of America.** XLVIII, 1. March 1933. B. M. Stearns, Early English periodicals for ladies. — A. Warren, To Mr. Pope: epistles from America. — A. L. Strout, Samuel Taylor Coleridge and John Wilson of *Blackwood's Magazine*. — L. Bradner, The growth of *Wuthering Heights*. — M. Chazin, Quinet, an early discoverer of Emerson. — S. Moore, S. B. Meech, and H. Whitehall, The Middle English Dictionary. — **Id.** XLVIII, 2. June 1933. J. S. P. Tatlock, Muriel: The earliest English poetess. — R. Kirk, References to the law in *Piers the Plowman*. — A. C. Baugh, Thomas Chaucer, one man or two? — H. Caplan, "Henry of Hesse" *On the Art of Preaching*. — N. S. Aurner, Sir Thomas Malory — historian? — C. E. Sanders, Robert Greene and his "editors." — D. C. Allen, The classical scholarship of Francis Meres. — R. R. Cawley, Sir Thomas Browne and his reading. — J. H. Warner, The reaction in eighteenth century England to Rousseau's two *Discours*. — M. R. Adams, Joseph Fawcett and Wordsworth's *Solitary*. — D. L. Clark, Shelley and Bacon. — A. L. Stevenson, *Vanity Fair* and Lady Morgan. — G. W. Whiting, Conrad's revision of six of his short stories. — C. E. Parmenter & A. V. Blanc, An experimental study of accent in French and English. — H. de V. Velten, The science of language and the language of science. — The Spenser Group, Spenser allusions. — **Id.** XLVIII, 3. Sept. 1933. D. M. Norris, Chaucer's *Pardoner's Tale* and Flanders. — C. A. Greer, The York and Lancaster Quarto-Folio sequence. — G. Mattingly, The date of Shakespeare's Sonnet CVII. — P. Mueschke, & J. Fleisher, Jonsonian elements in the comic underplot of *Twelfth Night*. — I. T. Richards, The meaning of Hamlet's soliloquy. — S. A. Small, The ending of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*. — H. R. Walley, Shakespeare's conception of *Hamlet*. — W. D. Dunkel, Did not Rowley merely revise Middleton? — H. MacMullan, The sources of Shirley's *St. Patrick for Ireland*. — A. Jackson, Play notices from the Burney newspapers 1700-1703. — S. L. Gulick, Jr., Jonathan Swift's "The Day of Judgement." — C. Lefever, Richardson's paradoxical success. — E. Nitchie, The moral of *The Ancient Mariner* reconsidered. — H. W. Hausermann, Aldous Huxley as literary critic. — Sir W. A. Craigie, The Historical Dictionary of American English. — **Id.** XLVIII, 4, Dec. 1933. I. P. McKeehan, The Book of the Nativity of St. Cuthbert. — R. S. Loomis, The visit to the perilous castle: a study of the Arthurian modifications of an Irish theme. — F. Mezger, Middle English *Run*. — Carleton Brown, The evolution of the Canterbury "Marriage Group." — A. N. Wiley, Female prologues and epilogues in English plays. — R. E. Bennett, Sir William Cornwallis's use of Montaigne. — R. C. Wallerstein, The style of Drummond of Hawthornden in its relation to his translations. — W. O. Clough, Henry Vaughan and the Hermetic philosophy. — C. M. Webster, Swift and some earlier satirists of Puritan enthusiasm. — B. Emsley, James Buchanan and the eighteenth century regulation of English usage. — W. F. Gallaway, Jr., The sentimentalism of Goldsmith. — R. O. Rose, Poetic hero-worship in the late eighteenth century. — J. T. Hasfield, The Longfellow-Freiligrath correspondence. — **Id.** XLVIII, 1933. Supplement American Bibliography for 1933. — **Id.** XLIX, 1. March 1934. E. Brennecke, Jr., Dryden's Odes and Draghi's music. — I. St. John Bliss, Young's *Night Thoughts* in relation to contemporary Christian apologetics. — H. Drennon, James Thomson's contact with Newtonianism and his interest in natural philosophy. — L. Dennis, Percy's essay "On the Ancient Metrical Romances." — W. H. Rogers, The reaction against melodramatic sentimentality in the English novel, 1796-1830. — C. H. Gray, Wordsworth's first visit to Tintern Abbey. — H. Hartman, Wordsworth's "Lucy" poems. Notes and Marginalia. — A. L. Strout, William Wordsworth and John Wilson: a review of their relations between 1802 and 1817. — J. Lindsay, Coleridge marginalia in a volume of Descartes. — N. P. Stallknecht, The doctrine of Coleridge's Dejection and its relation to Wordsworth's philosophy. — W. E. Gibbs, Unpublished letters concerning Cottle's Coleridge. — P. Mueschke & E. L. Griggs, Wordsworth as the prototype of

the poet in Shelley's *Alastor*. — J. W. Beach, Keats's realms of gold. — C. Olney, John Keats and Benjamin Robert Haydon. — C. O. Parsons, Character names in the Waverley novels. — C. K. Hyder, Swinburne and the popular ballad. — *Id.* XLIX, 2. June 1934. J. O. Beatty, The echo-word in Beowulf with a note on the *Finnsburg* fragment. — A. E. Du Bois, The unity of *Beowulf*. — F. Tupper, The date and historical background of *The Owl and the Nightingale*. — B. S. Harrison, Medieval rhetoric in the *Book of the Duchess*. — S. B. Meech, Nicholas Bishop, an exemplar of the Oxford dialect of the fifteenth century. — J. A. Gee, Findale and the 1533 English *Enchiridion* of Erasmus. — C. M. Syford, The direct source of the Pamela-Cecropia episode in the *Arcadia*. — C. G. Smith, Spenser's theory of friendship. — B. Stirling, The philosophy of Spenser's "Garden of Adonis." — J. S. Diekhoff, Rhyme in *Paradise Lost*. — H. G. Platt, Jr., *Astrea and Celadon*: an untouched portrait of Aphra Behn. — R. M. Davis, Thomson and Voltaire's *Socrate*. — C. J. Hill, Shenstone and Richard Graves's *Columella*. — E. N. Hooker, The discussion of taste, from 1750 to 1770, and the new trends in literary criticism. — L. M. Knapp, The naval scenes in *Roderick Random*. — E. P. Dargan, Scott and the French romantics. — *Id.* XLIX, 3. Sept. 1934. R. Withington, "Vice" and "Parasite." A note on the evolution of the Elizabethan villain. — J. W. Ashton, Conventional material in Munday's *John a Kent and John a Cumber*. — K. W. Cameron, The text of *Othello*: an analysis. — J. W. Draper, Olivia's household. — J. M. French, *Othello* among the Anthropophagi. — G. Okerlund, The quarto version of *Henry V* as a stage adaptation. — A. Thaler, The "lost scenes" of *Macbeth*. — P. Mueschke & J. Fleisher, The re-evaluation of Vanbrugh. — G. W. Stone, Jr., Garrick's long lost alteration of *Hamlet*. — J. H. Smith, Genesis of *The Borderers*. — *Id.* XLIX, 4. Dec. 1934. S. Einarrsson, Old English *beot* and Old Icelandic *heitstrenging*. — W. G. Crane, Lord Berners's translation of Diego de San Pedro's *Cárcel de Amor*. — L. Bradner, Henry Cheke's *Freewyl*. — B. B. Gamzue, Elizabeth and literary patronage. — I. E. Rathborne, Another interpretation of *Muiopotmos*. — J. M. French, A new letter by John Milton. — F. P. Rolfe, On the bibliography of seventeenth-century prose fiction. — R. C. Beatty, Criticism in Fielding's narratives and his estimate of critics. — J. DeLancey Ferguson, Burns's Journal of his Border tour. — D. M. Wolfe, Milton and Mirabeau. — C. R. Decker, Zola's literary reputation in England. — J. L. Barker, Beginning-consonants and breath-control in French and English. — *Id.* XLIX, 1934. Supplement. American Bibliography for 1934.

**Anglia.** LVIII, 1. Jan. 1934. R. J. Menner, Farman Vindicatus: the linguistic value of *Rushworth I*. — W. Krogmann, Ae. *neorx(e)nauwang* "Paradies". — J. Kock, Der anglonormannische Traktat des Walter von Bibbesworth in seiner Bedeutung für die Anglistik. — J. H. A. Sparrow, The text of Cowley's satire *The Puritan and the Papist*. — H. Hecht, Kleine Studien zu Graves, Shenstone und Percy. I. — *Id.* LVIII, 2. Mai 1934. H. M. Flasdieck, Die zweite Person des Singulars im ae. Verbsystem. — L. de la Torre Bueno, A note on the date of *The Owl and the Nightingale*. — H. Hecht, Kleine Studien zu Graves, Shenstone und Percy. II-IV. — H. de Wet Jensen, Das konservative Welt- und Staatsbild Edmund Burkes. — *Id.* LVIII, 3. Juli 1934. H. de Wet Jensen, Das konservative Welt- und Staatsbild Edmund Burkes (Schluss). — H. Henel, Planetenglaube in Ælfric's Zeit. — F. Krog, Autobiographische oder typische Zahlen in *Piers Plowman*? — H. Lange, Hat Chaucer den Kompass gekannt und benutzt? — *Id.* LVIII, 4. Oct. 1934. E. Schröder, Der Name Healfdene. — W. Krogmann, Ae. *eolet* (*Beowulf* 224). — A. H. Krappe, Spanish matter in British chronicles. — B. J. Whiting, *Ac he kan hongi bi þe boze* (*Owl* and N. 816). — F. Holthausen, Zur Erklärung und Textkritik des *Sir Tristan*. — L. D. Frasure, Shakespeare's constables. — H. Marwell, Percy and the Ossian-Kontroverse. — I. Marinoff, Richard Whiteings soziale Romane. — J. Ellinger, Über die mit that zusammengesetzte Bindewörter im neueren Englisch. — W. Krogmann, Ne. *thrush*. — *Id.*, Ae. *strosle* „Drossel“.

**Beiblatt zur Anglia.** XLIV, 11. Nov. 1933. P. Meissner reviews Van Doorn, *Of the Tribe of Homer*. — F. Holthausen, Angelsächsisches Allerlei. — *Id.* XLI, 1. Jan. 1934. F. Holthausen, Altenglisches. — *Id.*, Zu *Beowulf* V. 547. — *Id.* XLV, 3. März 1934. — F. Holthausen, Zur Quelle von Cynwulfs *Elene*. — *Id.* XLV, 5. Mai 1934. E. Ekwall reviews Dekker, *Some Facts Concerning the Syntax of Malory's Morte Darthur*. — Ph. Aronstein reviews Kruisinga & Kooistra, *An Introduction to English Syntax*. — *Id.* XLV, 7. Juli 1934. E. Fischer reviews Kruisinga, *A Handbook of Present-Day English*, II, 5th ed. — *Id.* XLV, 10. Okt. 1934. F. Holthausen, Fussball im 15. Jahrhundert. — *Id.*, Zu *Macbeth* iv, 2, 18. — *Id.* XLV, 12. Dez. 1934. M. Ertle reviews De Vries, *Suggestions Concerning Regular Seasons in Art, with Special Reference to English Literature*. — K. Wildhagen, Fussball im Mittelalter.

**Englische Studien.** LXVIII, 3. Febr. 1934. W. Keller, Beowulf der riesige Vorkämpfer. — E. B. Dike, Our oldest obsoletisms. — A. H. Krappe, Arthur and Charlemagne. — R. Koebner, Oceana. — H. Drennon, Newtonianism: its method, theology, and metaphysics. — C. E. Burch, Defoe's British reputation 1869-1894. — C. Brooks, The history of Percy's edition of Surrey's Poems. — P. Fijn van Draat reviews Barnouw, *De Vertellingen van de Pelgrims naar Kantelberg*. — F. T. Wood reviews De Haas, *Nature and the Country in English Poetry of the First Half of the Eighteenth Century*. — **Id.** LXIX, 1. Juli 1934. E. von Erhardt-Siebold, History of the bell in a riddle's nutshell. — S. Stefanovič, Zur Offa-Thryðo-Episode im *Beowulf*. — H. Lange, Die Ähnlichkeitstheorie in Chaucers Legendenprolog. — Ausgewählte Kleinere Dichtungen Chaucers. Im Versmass des Originals ins Deutsche übertragen von J. Koch. — W. Ruff, Walter Scott and the Erl-King. — **Id.** LXIX, 2. Nov. 1934. W. Krogmann, Ae. *geormanlæf* und der Name der Germanen. — F. Holthausen, Die altenglischen Dichtungen Chaucers. Im Versmass des Originals ins Deutsche übertragen von J. Koch. — L. F. Casson, Studies in the diction of the *Confessio Amantis*. — Vordieck, Zum Shakespeare-Text. — M. J. Wolff, Byron and Napoleon. — A. Ehrentreich, Tristan and Isolde in der neueren englischen Literatur. — **Id.** LXIX, 3. Jan. 1935. A. E. Du Bois, Beowulf 1107 and 2577: hoards, swords, and shields. — H. Henel, Altenglischer Mönchsaberglaube. — J. W. Draper, Hamlet's schoolfellows. — K. Arns, Die Geschwister Powys: Herkunft und Familiengeschichtliches, Bekenntnisse und Geständnisse. — H. Häusermann, T. S. Eliots religiöse Entwicklung. — R. Hittmair reviews Van der Meer, *Main Facts Concerning the Syntax of Mandeville's Travels*.

**Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen.** CLIV, 1/2. Sept. 1933. G. Schleich, Zur Sprache Lord Berners' (Schluss). — **Id.** CLXIV, 3/4. Dez. 1933. K. Brunner, Spätmere. Lehrgedichte. — F. Werth, Volksbildungsarbeit der englischen Kirche im Zeitalter der Aufklärung. — **Id.** CLXV, 1/2. März 1934. P. Meissner, Studien zum Wortschatz Aelfrics. — F. Werth, Volksbildungsarbeit der englischen Kirche im Zeitalter der Aufklärung (Schluss). — **Id.** CLXV, 3/4. Juni 1934. A. Eichler, Taktumstellung und schwebende Betonung. — **Id.** CLXVI, 1/2. Okt. 1934. G. Schleich, Lord Berners' Froissart-Übersetzung in ihren Beziehungen zum Original. — H. Hecht, Zur zweiten Orientreise Robert Woods. — P. Meissner, Studien zum Wortschatz Aelfrics (Fortsetzung). — W. Horn, Zur englischen Bühnensprache. — **Id.** CLXVI, 3/4. Jan. 1935. K. Hammerle, Verstreute me. und frühere. Lyrik: I. Zwei O. & I. Gedichte. II. Georgsstunden. III. Schülerleid mit Carol. — P. Meissner, Studien zum Wortschatz Aelfrics (Schluss). — **Id.** CLXVII, 1/2. März 1935. K. Brunner, Mittelenglische Todesgedichte. — Fr. Kläeber, Zu altenglischen Dichtungen. — A. B(randl) reviews Harder, *Observations on Some Tendencies of Sentiment and Ethics Chiefly in Minor Poetry and Essay in the 18th Century* etc. — **Id.** CLXVII, 3/4. Juni 1935. E. Weigelin, Hamlets Verschickung nach England. — G. Schleich, Lord Berners' Froissart-Übersetzung in ihren Beziehungen zum Original (Fortsetzung und Schluss). — H. Marcus, Unveröffentlichte Briefe der Lady Isabella A. Gregory.

**Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift.** XXI, 9/10. Sept./Okt. 1933. L. Schnapp, Oscar Wilde und die Bibel. — **Id.** XXI, 11/12. Nov./Dez. 1933. M. J. Wolff, Shakespeares Stellung an der Grenze zweier Zeiten. — **Id.** XXII, 1/2. Jan./Febr. 1934. A. Seebasz, Raabe und Shakespeare. — **Id.** XXII, 3/4. März/April 1934. R. Newald, Die Antike in den europäischen Literaturen. — **Id.** XXII, 9/10. F. Dannenberg, Trelawney und Hunt im Umkreis Shelleys.

**Die Neueren Sprachen.** XLI, 6. Sept./Okt. 1933. M. Deutschbein, Die Aufgaben der englischen Philologie im neuen Staat. — R. Schmidt, Gustav Wendt zum Gedächtnis. — M. Walter, Gustav Wendt. — **Id.** XLI, 7/8. Nov./Dez. 1933. W. Schmidt, Amerikanische Volksballadenforschung. — **Id.** XLII, 3. H. Papajewski, Die Entwicklung Englands in den letzten Jahren. — H. Effelberger, Wesenszüge amerikanischer Kunst. — **Id.** XLII, 9. E. Lerch, Die neue Sprachwissenschaft.

**Zeitschrift für französischen und englischen Unterricht.** XXXIII, 2. 1934. E. Baumgarten, Amerikanische Philosophie und deutscher Glaube. — **Id.** XXXIII, 3. 1934. W. Keller, Carlyle und der Führergedanke. — **Id.** XXXIII, 4. 1934. Th. Warner, Englische Volksmusik.

**Literaturblatt für germ. und rom. Philologie.** LV, 9/10. Sept./Okt. 1934. H. Heuer reviews Kruisinga & Kooistra, *An Introduction to English Syntax*.

## Les Périodes dans l'Histoire de la Littérature Anglaise Moderne

Je propose de définir une période comme "l'intervalle entre deux changements marqués du goût littéraire dominant."

Une telle formule implique deux postulats; en premier lieu, que des changements se produisent toujours dans le goût littéraire d'un peuple donné, et c'est bien ce que montre en effet l'histoire de toutes les littératures; en second lieu, qu'à un moment donné il existe un goût littéraire "dominant", et si cette proposition n'est pas toujours exacte, elle l'est cependant le plus souvent; sa vérité moyenne et relative suffit pour la rendre acceptable.

Les travaux des érudits, et le progrès de l'histoire, nous rendent de plus en plus sensibles à l'existence, en tous temps, de goûts secondaires et particuliers, qui modifient le timbre des époques littéraires. Même dans la France monarchique, et à l'apogée du classicisme, ce serait une erreur de croire qu'a pu régner l'unité absolue d'un goût officiel. Il n'y a jamais un goût, mais des goûts. De ceux-ci, pourtant, se dégage le plus souvent une orientation générale, sinon universelle, du moins commune, du jugement dans un groupe culturel; et cette orientation commune est ce qu'on peut appeler le goût dominant. C'est là une réalité essentielle, et que nous ne devons pas oublier. L'érudition tend à nous la faire perdre de vue; mais les arbres ne doivent pas nous cacher la forêt. Si nous laissons s'oblitérer en nous le sentiment de ces valeurs tenues pour supérieures et généralement acceptées, nous ne pourrions plus croire à l'existence même de périodes. Et certes, le pluralisme est ici, comme ailleurs, une attitude d'esprit séduisante; et il faut bien avouer que la "période" est une notion en partie conventionnelle. Mais l'est-elle absolument, et n'a-t-elle aucune réalité objective? C'est mon objet d'essayer d'établir que l'histoire de la littérature anglaise ne nous donne pas une telle impression. Parler de périodes à son sujet, ce n'est pas seulement adopter un point de vue pédagogique — car il faut bien diviser commodément la matière que l'on enseigne; ce n'est pas non plus seulement obéir à un besoin logique de l'esprit, et construire le passé parce que la science est obligée de simplifier la complexité des faits. Les faits eux-mêmes nous forcent à reconnaître qu'il a existé le plus souvent, en Angleterre comme en France, un goût littéraire dominant, où se composait la diversité infinie des jugements individuels. Il en a du moins été ainsi depuis le moment où la croissance de l'esprit national a permis l'apparition d'une classe "lettrée" assez large — ce moment, la majorité intellectuelle du peuple anglais, et l'avènement du public littéraire, se place naturellement au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle; et l'on peut s'attendre, d'autre part, à ce que cette communauté relative du goût, qui va s'affaiblissant avec l'élargissement

---

Editor's Note. We are grateful to Professor Cazamian for allowing us to reproduce the text of his address to the Second International Congress of Literary History at Amsterdam on September 20. Professor Cazamian asks us to point out that the address was part and parcel of a general discussion upon the problem of periods (see *E. S.*, Aug. 1935, p. 146), so that matters concerning one literature in particular had to be left as much as possible in the background. For an elaboration of the views set forth here we may refer to the same author's *L'Évolution Psychologique et la Littérature en Angleterre* (1920), reviewed in this journal, vol. v (1923), pp. 77-78.

indéfini de la classe cultivée, et avec la tendance à l'éclectisme des peuples de culture ancienne, soit destinée à disparaître un jour. Si comme je le crois l'Angleterre approche de l'âge éclectique, elle cesserait bientôt de montrer — et telle est bien l'apparence du présent — le prestige marqué d'un goût littéraire particulier.

Qui dit goût dit organe d'appréciation, de jugement; non pas, directement au moins, organe de création littéraire. En faisant reposer la détermination des périodes sur l'existence d'un certain goût dominant, nous pouvons sembler mettre au premier plan la critique, au second la production même des œuvres. Or, à supposer qu'un tel ordre fût jamais justifié, il le serait certes moins que partout ailleurs en Angleterre, où la création n'a guère été jamais dominée, dirigée par la critique. Mais le critérium proposé n'implique nullement une pareille façon de voir. Il y a toujours, dès que l'on considère des phases suffisamment longues, un accord relatif entre les valeurs que le public accepte, et celles que les écrivains lui offrent; soit que les écrivains aient réussi à former leur public; soit qu'ils aient fini par s'adapter à lui; soit que le public et les écrivains participent en même temps à certaines préférences générales du jugement, car les hommes de lettres, après tout, sont de leur temps, et n'échappent pas aux mouvements généraux de l'esprit collectif; soit enfin que toutes ces causés entrent en jeu à la fois. C'est sur cet accord de fait que se fonde la formule proposée; le goût des lecteurs et celui des créateurs y est tenu pour en moyenne, et surtout dans les périodes proprement dites, hors des transitions, très sensiblement identique.

A supposer, donc, que la formule proposée soit acceptable, il y a lieu d'en dégager les conséquences; ce sera le moyen de nourrir cette définition psychologique de la période — la seule définition possible, à mon sens — qui est restée jusqu'ici extérieure et vide. La formule parle de changements "marqués" du goût; c'est dire que s'il y a d'autres changements que ceux-là — et il s'en produit certainement, et de continuels, le goût d'une époque n'étant jamais parfaitement statique — ces autres changements, moins marqués, peuvent être négligés dans la considération des périodes. Si les choses du goût sont toujours plus ou moins en mouvement, il y a cependant, à l'intérieur des limites fixées par hypothèse, une homogénéité relative de la période; homogénéité, cela va sans dire, d'ordre esthétique. Nous arrivons ainsi à cette nouvelle définition, qui développe la première: "La période est une phase du devenir littéraire dans laquelle se rencontre un ensemble de caractères esthétiques dominants."

Or — et c'est là un fait d'observation capital — ces ensembles de caractères esthétiques apparaissent comme des systèmes; du point de vue psychologique, ils sont organisés; ou plutôt, ils entretiennent entre eux des rapports organiques. Ils constituent, pourrait-on dire, des tempéraments; ils répondent à de certaines attitudes mentales, offrant quelque stabilité et capables de durer quelque temps, dans la recherche du plaisir littéraire. Ces tempéraments esthétiques, avec leur stabilité relative, sont la réalité profonde de ce qu'on appelle les périodes. Et cette correspondance entre l'esthétique et le psychologique est plus étroite, plus directe, pour la littérature que pour les autres arts.

La raison en est que la littérature jouit d'un privilège quant à son moyen d'expression. Le langage est l'instrument même de la pensée. Les mots sont des signes idéologiques. Aussi la littérature est-elle l'art qui a le moins besoin de matière. Elle est liée plus directement que les autres arts à l'esprit

collectif, au *Zeitgeist* — depuis le moment, du moins, où la personnalité nationale est majeure, et la culture nationale pleinement constituée; durant le moyen-âge français, par exemple, il a pu arriver, comme on l'a dit, que l'architecture et la sculpture fussent en avance sur les lettres.

D'ordinaire, il n'en est pas ainsi, et les divers arts sont liés entre eux, dans leur développement, par des parallélismes et des correspondances assez nets. Cette évolution simultanée des arts s'explique sans peine: tous ont également leurs racines dans la vie centrale de l'esprit. Le parallélisme, cependant, n'est pas constant ni absolu; et les historiens de l'art mettent l'accent avec raison sur les "décalages" qui se produisent d'un art à l'autre. Ces inégalités dans le développement tiennent à des différences de technique, et aux affinités spéciales de tel ou tel mode d'expression avec telle phase de la croissance mentale. A tout prendre, la littérature reste l'art dont les racines dans la vie spirituelle du groupe sont le plus profondes, et qui en tire le plus directement sa nourriture.

La notion de période littéraire, même si elle jouit d'un véritable privilège, a besoin pour se fortifier de s'appuyer sur la notion de période artistique générale. Le faisceau de tous les arts, dans l'ensemble, doit pouvoir se nouer autour de caractères esthétiques dominants. Si cette synthèse ne peut se faire, s'il existe entre les arts divers des décalages très fréquents et très marqués chez un même peuple, la notion de période psychologique, c'est-à-dire la seule notion possible de la période, en sera gravement compromise. Car il serait difficile d'admettre que, pour un peuple donné, les attitudes mentales impliquées dans les divers arts fussent au même moment radicalement différentes, sans que disparût, de ce fait, tout espoir d'unifier le développement littéraire par la vie de l'esprit collectif. Il n'y aurait plus pour un peuple, à un moment de son activité esthétique, un seul esprit collectif, mais plusieurs — autant qu'il y a d'arts; et le lien que l'on cherchait à nouer entre le littéraire et le psychologique serait rompu.

C'est là une question de fait; il appartient à l'histoire de la civilisation de chaque peuple d'y répondre. Pour l'Angleterre, de la Renaissance au XX<sup>me</sup> siècle, ces différences radicales n'apparaissent pas. Le cours de la civilisation anglaise moderne nous montre de grands mouvements de masse, aux limites chronologiques élastiques, enfermant en eux-mêmes toute une multiplicité d'accidents, où les arts particuliers présentent les uns vis-à-vis des autres des différences partielles d'inspiration, des avances et des retards; mais où l'on sent pourtant que tout marche plus ou moins ensemble, que les choses sont mues par une même impulsion, d'origine intérieure.

Le dessin des grandes périodes littéraires se calque sur ces mouvements. Ces périodes maîtresses sont faciles à marquer de la Renaissance anglaise à la fin de ce qu'il faut bien appeler, faute de mieux, le romantisme — vers 1835. Il n'est pas nécessaire de les exposer en détail; les historiens de la littérature sont à peu près d'accord sur elles. Leur succession peut être intégrée dans le mouvement plus large de ce qui est parfois nommé la littérature européenne, et où l'Angleterre, malgré la particularité jalouse de son génie, ne fait pas exactement cavalier seul. On doit seulement remarquer son avance vis-à-vis de la France dans les phases romantiques, son retard dans les phases classiques. Car s'il faut ramener ces périodes, qui ne se sont jamais répétées, à de communs dénominateurs — et je crois que cela est possible — ce sont encore les épithètes "romantique" et "classique" qui seront, dans l'état actuel du vocabulaire, les moins mauvaises.

Romantisme élisabéthain; longue transition marquée par la littérature "métaphysique"; moment pré-classique de la Restauration; période classique; longue transition qu'il est commode d'appeler pré-romantique; période romantique; et puis, pour pénétrer sur un terrain où les jalons sont moins nettement posés, phase "Victorienne" de la littérature, où l'on peut voir à l'œuvre des besoins classiques dominants; néo-romantisme enfin de la fin du XIX<sup>me</sup> siècle — ces divisions majeures, et généralement reconnues, d'un processus où tout se tient, où une coupure absolue ne se rencontre jamais, n'ont pas été dégagées et proposées par les historiens de la littérature. Comme la plupart des notions courantes en Angleterre, elles ne sont pas d'origine savante; elles ont apparu d'ailleurs, sauf les dernières, avant que l'histoire littéraire moderne se fût constituée. Elles sont nées d'un très grand nombre de jugements anonymes, d'un accord graduellement établi entre les perceptions moyennes. Si l'épithète "métaphysique" a été proposée par Johnson, il ne s'agit là que d'un nom; bien avant lui, le public lettré avait pris conscience d'une qualité particulière chez les écrivains du XVII<sup>me</sup> siècle, de Donne à Cowley. Il subsiste bien du flottement, aujourd'hui, dans la terminologie relative aux périodes, mais sur leur nature et leurs limites approximatives, il n'y a plus guère de doutes. Ce sont les jugements critiques de la masse des lecteurs qui ont établi le dessin général de la "périodicité" anglaise. Le sentiment de la période est une perception intuitive; c'est l'œuvre d'un tact d'esprit; d'un sens des valeurs esthétiques, qui n'est nullement lié à l'érudition. L'essentiel, pour percevoir sainement le dessin des périodes, est de sentir ces valeurs dans leur relativité — de reconnaître lesquelles sont dominantes, lesquelles secondaires ou erratiques, à un moment donné. L'empirisme du goût anglais moyen en est ici favorable à une perception juste, si les difficultés commencent dès qu'il s'agit de classer et de nommer. La formation des notions de "classique" et "romantique" en Angleterre, les définitions qui en ont été données, l'estime dans laquelle elles ont été tenues, ne sont pas un des chapitres les moins curieux de l'histoire de la critique européenne; un chapitre d'erreurs et d'accidents, où l'idée claire très lentement se dégage.

La critique moderne a conclu avec l'érudition un mariage de raison; les historiens révisent les notions établies par l'usage, soumettent à une analyse souvent agressive le schéma orthodoxe des périodes, et proposent des noms nouveaux, ou même des notions nouvelles. Il n'y a rien d'absurde à supposer que les érudits puissent modifier le dessin accepté de la périodicité anglaise; mais il ne semble pas, dans le fait, qu'ils y aient jusqu'à présent réussi. Les notions et les termes de "baroque" et de "rococo" sont l'exemple le plus fameux de ces tentatives. M. le professeur Isaacs a tracé un tableau infiniment suggestif de la fortune de ces mots, en Angleterre comme en Europe, et du peu d'enthousiasme des critiques anglais à leur égard. Je ne vois a priori, sans doute, aucune raison de les exclure, et l'histoire de la littérature anglaise peut s'en servir utilement. L'épithète "métaphysique", que les Anglais préférèrent à "baroque", n'est guère meilleure, et ne prête pas moins à confusion. Il est fort possible qu'à notre époque de conscience réfléchie, le passé littéraire s'éclaire d'une lumière nouvelle, et que son image dans notre esprit se construise selon des principes nouveaux. Je voudrais seulement dire que "baroque" et "rococo" ne sont pas, à mon sens, indispensables pour marquer et définir les étapes de la littérature anglaise. Les réalités que ces mots essaient de recouvrir peuvent être saisies par un effort d'analyse plus intérieur, et trouver tout naturellement leur place dans une interprétation psychologique du développe-

ment littéraire. Si l'on veut, c'est en fonction de ces termes dangereux mais nécessaires, "classicisme" et "romantisme", qu'on peut exprimer ces réalités — ou plutôt, en fonction des attitudes mentales que nous devons toujours imaginer derrière ces termes. Du point de vue auquel je me place ici, le baroque est la transition psychologique entre le romantisme élisabéthain, où dominant une imagination et une sensibilité exubérantes, et l'intellectualité du néo-classicisme. L'union ou pour mieux dire le conflit d'une intelligence exigeante et d'une imagination toujours passionnée, est le fond moral de la littérature métaphysique — beaucoup le reconnaissent aujourd'hui. En sens inverse, le "rococo" est l'attendrissement de l'intellectualité classique, alors que celle-ci ne se renonce pas encore elle-même, et maintient sa prétention à la suprématie; attendrissement mol et superficiel donc, complaisant et contradictoire à la fois, artificiel dans les expressions comme dans les formes, et qui dure jusqu'à la grande abdication romantique de l'intellectualité. Le rococo — en Angleterre à tout le moins — est un aspect de la transition pré-romantique.

Il serait certes préférable que le vocabulaire de l'histoire littéraire fût scientifique; et que, comme c'est le cas en chimie organique par exemple, les noms des périodes — c'est-à-dire des groupes de tendances dominantes — indiquassent les rapports internes de ces éléments. Mais c'est là sans doute un souhait tout platonique. En attendant, il faut nous contenter des mauvais jetons que nous avons entre les mains — de classicisme, de romantisme, et des autres "ismes", dont le tort est de ne pas impliquer dans leur formation même leur rapport nécessaire avec les deux premiers.

Leur rapport nécessaire; car libre d'écoles, de programmes, et de mouvements philosophiques impérieux, se développant donc, depuis la Renaissance, avec une spontanéité remarquable, la littérature anglaise nous montre, dans le fait; un rythme psychologique à deux temps. Sans se répéter, les périodes successives, que séparent des transitions ou phases mixtes, se correspondent deux à deux. Il y a là comme une hésitation fondamentale de l'esprit national entre deux tempéraments littéraires, dont l'un répond sans doute mieux à ses instincts, mais dont l'autre, qui répond aussi à certaines tendances, est rendu inévitable par le besoin d'équilibre et la nécessité du renouvellement. C'est sous la forme du premier — le romantisme — que se manifeste d'abord le génie anglais adulte, et que commence son évolution moderne à l'époque élisabéthaine; c'est par le second — le classicisme — que trois fois déjà il a cherché à corriger sa propre exubérance, et à se compléter. Le premier tempérament n'est donc pas seulement initial, mais vraiment primitif; l'autre n'est pas seulement secondaire, mais dérivé. Derrière ces noms, et même derrière ces "tempéraments", il faut voir deux groupes principaux d'activités mentales, susceptibles de nourrir la dépense d'énergie répondant à la production du plaisir littéraire; le groupe imaginatif-émotionnel d'un côté, le groupe intellectuel de l'autre. La limitation du rythme à deux temps principaux est inscrite dans la structure même de la psychologie humaine, qui n'offre pas à la création littéraire de source permanente d'autre nature; cette dualité essentielle est la loi la plus générale de toute expression artistique. Les phénomènes de volonté, où l'on voyait jadis une troisième "faculté", ne forment pas, du point de vue esthétique à tout le moins, une catégorie indépendante. L'art nous propose ou le plaisir de l'intensité par l'émotion et l'image, naturellement liées; ou celui de l'ordre par la structure, la clarté, la vérité — valeurs intellectuelles.

Le ressort de l'alternance est l'usure inévitable des moyens littéraires,

c'est-à-dire celle des énergies mentales qui y sont impliquées. Presque toujours, un type de littérature étant constitué, il tend par la répétition à la recherche d'effets extrêmes, qui atteignent la limite, et se détruisent. Tout se passe comme si la conscience littéraire d'une nation adulte était comparable à celle d'un individu, où les expériences laissent une trace, et le présent contient le passé. Il ne faut certes pas abuser de cette comparaison, qui peut prêter à bien des excès; mais l'esprit collectif, en matière d'art, n'est pas une illusion; et l'on peut définir sa réalité en disant qu'il se révèle par une prédisposition latente et commune, dans la moyenne des consciences, à certaines réactions de goût et de jugement. Notre thèse n'en demande pas davantage; et il semble bien que ce minimum soit un fait d'observation courante. Un tempérament littéraire ayant donc régné jusqu'à son épuisement, le besoin de renouvellement agit; la réaction d'un âge contre le précédent s'esquisse, s'affirme, triomphe, et une transition conduit à une phase de signe inverse. Les mouvements généraux de la littérature sont ainsi liés à des oscillations psychologiques profondes, et l'on peut parler d'un balancier secret qui se déplace. Une image plus juste est celle de la spirale, qui repasse par des positions symétriques sans jamais repasser par les mêmes points.

Car le fait brut de l'alternance, en sa simplicité, ne peut être posé sans être tout de suite corrigé, nuancé de mille façons. Et d'abord, les phases psychologiques marquées par les périodes ne sont point simples; leur unité contient une multiplicité. La vie mentale de l'individu n'est jamais homogène; les tempéraments littéraires les plus accentués portent toujours en eux, dans quelque mesure, leur contre-partie; on est d'accord pour relever chez Pope, par exemple, des accents, des moments romantiques. Autour du tempérament principal, dans une phase donnée, se groupent en une variété innombrable les tendances plus ou moins divergentes, et celles-ci, sous leur forme extrême, peuvent dominer chez des individus particuliers. Lanson parlait des "attardés" et des "égarés": point d'âge littéraire qui n'en présente; et le cas d'une Lady Winchilsea, au cœur du classicisme anglais, n'est qu'un exemple frappant. — De même, une phase psychologique n'est jamais un commencement absolu; elle continue, par réaction, celle qui la précède, et en la désavouant, ne réussit pas à l'oublier. Les éléments refoulés du champ de la conscience supérieure, frappés de discrédit, ou d'interdit, ne disparaissent pas pour cela; leur présence latente se révèle à mille signes. Comme il y a un esprit collectif, il y a une mémoire héréditaire, et les expériences artistiques successives d'un groupe humain s'accumulent en profondeur. Cette capitalisation du passé par la conscience nationale apparaît à la complexité croissante des instincts de l'individu. Tout enfant contemporain qui arrive à la vie littéraire y apporte le sentiment confus des âges qu'a vécus l'organisme psychologique auquel il appartient. S'il m'est permis d'évoquer un souvenir personnel, je me rends compte maintenant de ce dont était fait, vers ma vingtième année — peu avant 1900 — mon besoin d'expression; c'était comme une synthèse où se recouvraient par couches successives les sédiments de plusieurs siècles; le tréfond de mon instinct, sa partie la moins personnelle en quelque sorte, était classique; au dessus, mon moi propre se sentait et se reconnaissait davantage en des goûts romantiques; et ma personnalité tendant à une expression nouvelle et originale, développant vers l'avenir les forces du passé, se cherchait et se trouvait dans une direction symboliste.

Il en résulte que des ressouvenirs subconscients, de plus en plus nombreux, altèrent sans cesse davantage la pureté des notes élémentaires; et que les

ressources mentales neuves — c'est-à-dire un temps négligées — par lesquelles l'art cherche à se renouveler, possèdent de moins en moins de fraîcheur. Aggravant l'effet de la mémoire héréditaire, l'éducation actualise chez le jeune être la participation obscure de l'esprit au passé national; elle avive et développe ce qui ne serait que virtuel. La culture pour tous, en notre siècle démocratique, est moralement et socialement un bienfait sans prix; du point de vue de l'art, elle tend à multiplier le nombre des critiques, mais à diminuer celui des créateurs originaux. L'enseignement littéraire dans les écoles et les Universités émousse davantage, par la "vicarious experience" des formes d'expression successives, la vigueur intacte des instincts qui ont besoin de se croire vierges. C'est un fait que parmi les sept ou huit plus grands écrivains anglais des trente dernières années, un seul — Galsworthy — avait reçu l'enseignement humaniste des Universités. Les périodes de la littérature sont donc de plus en plus complexes, par l'association et l'inclusion mutuelle des tendances; elles ont une qualité de moins en moins pure; les renouvellements efficaces de l'inspiration deviennent de plus en plus difficiles. Les renouvellements absolus, dans le cadre de l'évolution psychologique qui se poursuit, sont hors de question.

Enfin, de ces influences diverses résulte l'épuisement plus rapide des forces mentales qui nourrissent les grandes inspirations littéraires, c'est-à-dire que la durée des périodes est de moins en moins longue. Le rythme est de toute façon accéléré; ses moments deviennent plus courts, et les transitions qui les séparent sont aussi plus brèves. Il fallait jadis en Angleterre, pour que la littérature changeât de signe, un bon demi-siècle; la dernière phase reconnaissable elle-même, avec la transition qui la précède et celle qui la suit, n'a pas occupé cette durée. Nul phénomène n'est plus frappant depuis le début de l'ère Victorienne, il y a une centaine d'années; nul, parmi les signes du présent, n'est plus révélateur.

Une telle accélération tend évidemment à un état plus ou moins statique — comme la spirale tend à un point mort — et cet état ne peut être que l'éclectisme. C'est bien de l'éclectisme que semblent approcher, ou à lui que paraissent être arrivées, les littératures contemporaines de l'Angleterre et de la France — pour ne parler que de ces deux nations. Eclectisme ne veut nullement dire stérilité; c'est une phase qui peut être durable, et où l'art peut connaître une fécondité remarquable, comme une qualité brillante. Son caractère est de montrer en même temps à l'œuvre toutes les tendances; de contenir une variété illimitée. Tel serait, en Angleterre, le moment actuel, celui qui a succédé au néo-romantisme des années 1875-1910. Dans la confusion présente, où presque tous les tempéraments s'affirment, si quelque chose domine, ce serait un effort de lucidité ironique et critique, une recherche d'ordre par l'intelligence, à laquelle la personnalité austère de Mr. T. S. Eliot donnerait son expression la plus nette. Mais jamais il n'a été plus vrai de dire que tout est dans tout; le romantisme est inclus dans la violence même de la réaction qui jette tant de jeunes écrivains vers l'horreur du sentiment facile. Le néo-classicisme anglais d'aujourd'hui est une nuance dominante à peine indiquée, surtout négative; il existe moins qu'il ne veut exister; c'est un néo-classicisme velléitaire. Il se concilie étrangement avec un déséquilibre profond de la pensée et de la langue; il est traversé de toutes les négations morales et formelles. Car classicisme veut dire discipline; et le choix du ton d'expression est désormais, inévitablement, individuel. Il n'y a jamais eu en Angleterre, à proprement parler, de fortes écoles littéraires; mais là comme ailleurs, aujourd'hui, les écoles sont mortes. L'art présent est un tissu de recherches divergentes, d'intensités

désespérées, de simplicités trop averties, de réminiscences. La nation presque entière est devenue littérairement consciente, et tous les germes ont l'occasion de se développer.

Cet état présage-t-il la fin de la littérature anglaise ? Il n'y a de cela aucune apparence, et il serait entièrement gratuit de l'affirmer. Une littérature ne meurt que si disparaît la vie spirituelle collective à laquelle elle est liée; et les nations modernes, dans la conscience approfondie qu'elles ont prise d'elles-mêmes et des conditions morales de leur existence, ont puisé, semble-t-il, une vitalité dont on ne voit plus quel pourrait être le terme inévitable. Les rêves les plus hardis du philosophe qui pense que l'homme pourra conquérir un jour l'immortalité, semblent prendre consistance dans la destinée de ces personnes que sont les nations, affranchies par la volonté de vivre du tribut qu'elles payaient jadis à la condition humaine. Il n'y a sans doute plus de raison, autre que cosmique, pour que le génie anglais doive mourir. Il est donc possible d'imaginer que la phase éclectique soit suivie d'un nouveau départ et d'un recommencement du rythme. Il faudrait pour cela un défrichage du subconscient, une transformation radicale du milieu physique ou social. La transplantation d'éléments anglais sous d'autres cieux réalise ce changement complet du milieu physique, et les jeunes littératures des Dominions britanniques sont vivifiées par une sève nouvelle. Il n'est pas impossible de concevoir qu'une civilisation transformée, "travailliste", représente, dans l'ordre social, quelque chose d'équivalent, et un renouvellement assez profond pour être efficace.

Ici apparaît le facteur social proprement dit, qui a été tenu, jusqu'à présent, en dehors de ces réflexions. Quel peut être le rapport de ce facteur avec le développement psychologique, dont nous avons, en apparence au moins, posé le jeu comme indépendant ? Les formules plus haut proposées impliquent le primat du psychologique; et le social — c'est-à-dire les influences économiques et politiques, les conditions et les aspects collectifs de la vie matérielle — est subordonné, dans l'évolution littéraire, aux déterminations internes de l'esprit. Mais les influences du dehors entrent en composition, sans cesse, avec celles du dedans, et elles sont indispensables à toute interprétation solide du mouvement des lettres. Non seulement le détail, mais l'allure même et les inflexions de ce mouvement, relèvent en partie d'elles. La vigueur, la durée, l'intensité ou la pureté des périodes, sont en rapport étroit avec cet arrière-plan social, sur l'exploration duquel l'histoire littéraire doit s'établir. Etant donné le romantisme anglais, les caractères précis de la littérature Victorienne qui lui succède ne seraient pas intelligibles, sans une étude de la civilisation Victorienne. — Il reste que l'âge nouveau des lettres sort de celui qui le précède par une genèse dont le principe est, non pas dans les faits matériels, mais dans la vie de l'esprit. Il y a là comme la liberté relative d'une création continue, à l'intérieur d'un cadre impérieux, de limites astreignantes, qui sont en fait celles mêmes de notre pensée; quelque chose d'analogue au compromis de la conduite, où une autonomie humaine s'insère dans le déterminisme des choses.

Le cas "crucial" du moment littéraire anglais actuel est de nature à éclairer cette autonomie. Il y a un siècle et quart, après le grand bouleversement de la Révolution française et des guerres Napoléoniennes, le romantisme anglais, dont les germes depuis longtemps croissaient, reçut de la secousse imprimée aux âmes l'impulsion qui facilita son superbe épanouissement. Aujourd'hui, un bouleversement plus grand encore a un effet différent,

presque opposé; car le néo-romantisme d'avant-guerre avait épuisé sa vitalité; et dans le désarroi des consciences, ce qui cherche à naître, c'est un demi-classicisme composite, sans doute le dernier battement reconnaissable du rythme littéraire anglais avant la phase éclectique qui s'annonce. Ainsi les chocs d'origine sociale stimuleraient dans l'esprit les croissances dont l'esprit, de par ses lois internes et notamment celle de l'alternance, aurait besoin...

Il serait utile, pour mettre à l'épreuve ces réflexions, d'essayer de les appliquer à d'autres littératures. Cette application ne semble pas offrir de difficultés insurmontables dans le cas de la France, dont le développement littéraire général n'est pas sans analogie avec celui de l'Angleterre, et qui appartient au même groupe de civilisations et de cultures.

Paris.

L. CAZAMIAN.

## Notes and News

### To Feed (tr. v.)

#### Construed with Various Objects and Prepositions

##### A. Use of two non-prepositional objects

In Poutsma's excellent list<sup>1</sup> of the verbs which admit of being construed with two non-prepositional objects there is no mention of *to feed*, which makes it obvious that this construction must be of comparatively recent origin. In fact it dates from the beginning of our century if we can trust the instances which have so far come to hand. To anticipate the result of our investigation, it seems safe to say that it is primarily confined to American usage. And when Krüger, who does enumerate it in his list of the verbs in question<sup>2</sup>, quotes such a sentence as: *Pigeon's milk* is called the partly digested food *which pigeons feed their young*<sup>3</sup> (unfortunately without giving his source, as is his custom), I am sure he must have got hold of an American definition without being aware of it, since he is one of the first grammarians to discriminate between British and American usage. I have so far (as to exceptions see further down) only met with American instances of this construction. I can head the list with a quotation from the Supplement of the Oxford Dictionary, which is among the oldest of them (but see footnotes 11 and 14): *Rita fed them bits of cassava and crumbs of cake*<sup>4</sup>; *she'd feed us corn flakes or bran*<sup>5</sup>; *they fed him a potassium bromide tablet*<sup>6</sup>; simply he found it and *fed it raw meat*<sup>7</sup>; *feed it* (the public) *a piquant and spicy diet*, long enough, and its taste for substantial will grow less and less<sup>8</sup>; none of us can make any man a better

<sup>1</sup> *Grammar of Late Modern English*, Part I, First Half (2nd Ed.), pp. 219 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Syntax der engl. Sprache*, Vol. I (2nd Ed.), pp. 58 ff.

<sup>3</sup> alongside of the variant: *with which*...

<sup>4</sup> R. W. Chambers, 1911.

<sup>5</sup> Nock-Mutschmann, *Spoken American*, 1930, p. 6.

<sup>6</sup> S. Lewis, *Arrowsmith*, p. 30 (Tauchnitz).

<sup>7</sup> F. L. Pattee, *The Development of the American Short Story*, p. 350.

<sup>8</sup> *The Saturday Review of Lit.*, 19.3.1927, p. 657.

Canadian by *feeding him* nationalist *propaganda* on the American plan<sup>9</sup>; Mr. Wells has had the benefit of eminent collaborators and consultants who *fed him material*<sup>10</sup>; the police *fed them lies*<sup>11</sup>; they ought to *feed him oxygen*<sup>12</sup>.

The fact that Jespersen adduces two examples from English writers<sup>13</sup> (he does not yet, in our case, discriminate between British and American usage) cannot invalidate my contention that the construction is primarily American. The one is taken from Kipling's *Kim* (1901): they would *feed him raw beef* on a plate<sup>14</sup>, the other from H. G. Wells' *W. Clissold* (1926): you can *feed the public anything* you like. It is well known that the style of both Kipling and Wells is at times coloured by American usage, so that we cannot, on the strength of these two examples, pronounce the construction British.

Only one instance of the primary passive conversion has so far come to hand: if mince pie makes the Mount Holyoke girls drowsy after luncheon it ought *to be fed them* at night<sup>15</sup>.

Instances of the secondary passive conversion, however, seem to be as numerous in American writers as those of the use of two non-prepositional objects: the Canadian public has during the past winter *been fed a regular diet* of distinguished Indian Civil Servants<sup>16</sup>; here, they say of the America of 1927, is a nation *being fed a standardized education* from standardized text-books by...<sup>17</sup>; we shall continue *to be fed the sort of drivel* that clutters up the pages of the professional modern language journals<sup>18</sup>; the dogs were a pair of beige-coloured hounds who looked as though they *were fed too much meat*<sup>19</sup>.

## B. Use of the *to*-complement

From my knowledge of present-day English I should not have had the slightest hesitation in pronouncing the construction with the *to*-phrase British as against the typically American one with two non-prepositional objects. I am afraid I cannot unearth or marshal all the examples I have come across, having of late been more anxious to establish the use sub A. Years ago I found Krüger laying it down<sup>20</sup> that the English construction is: *to feed some food to an animal* (alongside of the variant: *to feed an animal with (on) some stuff*). I have always found Krüger a reliable guide, so that there was no reason for me to doubt his statement, which would carry this British usage back at least to 1912, when the second edition of his volume was being prepared for the press, if not earlier. By the way, Muret-Sanders also construe: *to feed out turnips to cows* (or were they writing out an American

<sup>9</sup> *The Canadian Forum*, Dec. 1927, p. 457.

<sup>10</sup> *The Saturday Review of Lit.*, 5.12.1931, p. 341.

<sup>11</sup> R. Herrick, *Memoirs of an American Citizen*. 1905; from Jespersen: *A Mod. Eng. Gr.* III, p. 281.

<sup>12</sup> Galsworthy, *Silver Spoon* (an American is speaking); from Jespersen, l.c., p. 241.

<sup>13</sup> l.c., pp. 241 and 281.

<sup>14</sup> The curious fact that the first instance (so far) of this American construction is met with in an English writer is duly registered here.

<sup>15</sup> H. W. Horwill, *A Dict. of Mod. American Usage*, 1935, p. 128.

<sup>16</sup> *The Canadian Forum*, May 1932, p. 285.

<sup>17</sup> *The Saturday Rev. of Lit.*, 12.2.1927, p. 573.

<sup>18</sup> *The Canadian Forum*, June 1930, p. 323.

<sup>19</sup> *ib.*, Nov. 1929, p. 47.

<sup>20</sup> *Syntax*, Vol. III. (2nd Ed.) § 3796a, p. 1934.

source? <sup>21</sup>). And this British use of the *to*-phrase is confirmed, e.g., by Mr. Wyld <sup>22</sup>, who says sub 'feed' 4 (to give as food): *to feed turnips to cattle*. It may, therefore, suffice to refer the reader to such casual examples as that offered by Mr. Churchill in his "notorious '*feeding cat's-meat to a tiger*' speech" <sup>23</sup>, made when addressing a meeting of the Indian Empire Society in London at a critical juncture of the Round Table Conference, or to a quotation from Mr. H. G. Wells: *what is fed to us* <sup>24</sup>. But in pronouncing this construction with a *to*-complement British I find myself at variance with two formidable authorities. In Vol. IV (1901) the Oxford Dictionary brought two American examples sub 'feed' v. 8b, to deal out (food) to animals: He has been *feeding bread and butter to the dog* <sup>25</sup>; *Mangelwurzel ... is fed to the cows in winter* <sup>26</sup>; and the Supplement (1933) definitely attaches the tag U. S. to this section 8b., adding both earlier and later examples (one of which has already been quoted above) and the definition: also, to supply (food) to persons. I quote another example from this section: the professor... *fed snake sandwiches to his college class at a party* <sup>27</sup>. The second authority, perhaps influenced by the Oxford Dictionary <sup>28</sup>, is Mr. H. W. Horwill, from whose *Dictionary of Modern American Usage* (1935) I have also quoted one example. In his article on 'feed' (p. 128) he says: 'In Eng. a farmer *feeds horses on oats*. In Am. he *feeds oats to horses*.' I now quote his three additional examples: It is cheaper to *feed slop to a* dear, unselfish and modest neighbor's hogs than it is to *feed lawn grass and flowers to his cows*; McCann had a hunk of dried buffalo meat, and was *feeding it to some Indian children*; horse chestnuts are so called from *being fed to horses*. Still, Mr. Horwill does not wholly commit himself like the Oxford Dictionary and puts a dagger against the word 'feed', to indicate that the construction seems to him now 'on the way towards being naturalized in England' <sup>29</sup>.

I should not have cherished the slightest doubt that the *to*-complement was used in America. Webster's *New International Dictionary* (1928) defines 'feed' <sup>30</sup>: to give food, esp. to animals, to supply... to a machine. Examples: to *feed turnips to the cows*; to *feed water to a steam boiler*; to *feed paper to a printing press*. Other American examples are: a graham cracker *which she feeds to a baby* <sup>31</sup>; the Prioress naturally would not *feed that bread*

<sup>21</sup> Cf. e.g. the article 'feed' of Webster's *New International Dict.*, from which we quote further down.

<sup>22</sup> *Universal Engl. Dict.*, 1932.

<sup>23</sup> *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 23.1.1931, p. 65. The same paper, however, in the issue of 19.12.1930, p. 491, reports Mr. Churchill as saying: It is no use trying to satisfy a tiger by *feeding him with cat's meat*! (I wonder whether one of the readers of *E. St.* could verify which phrase was used by Mr. Ch. from, let us say, *The Times*?).

<sup>24</sup> from Jespersen, l.c., p. 242.

<sup>25</sup> *Atlantic Monthly*, 1893.

<sup>26</sup> *Harper's Mag.*, 1883.

<sup>27</sup> *Grand Rapids Even. Press*, 1904.

<sup>28</sup> 'In matters of English usage I have taken the Oxford Engl. Dict. and its Supplement as an authoritative standard', Preface p. V.

<sup>29</sup> Considering that English lexicographers (see above) use the *to*-phrase one might be tempted to suggest that perhaps a double dagger was more to the point, to indicate that the naturalization is by this time complete'; but it ought to be remembered that Mr. Horwill is prepared to find that some critics think him 'too sparing of my daggers while others consider me too liberal with them'.

<sup>30</sup> there is no change from the earlier edition.

<sup>31</sup> S. Lewis, *Main Street*; from Jespersen, l.c., p. 241.

to her puppies <sup>32</sup>; feeding thistles to cattle <sup>33</sup>; a piece of raw steel is fed to it <sup>34</sup>. But it seems that the *to*-complement is used in literary American rather than in spoken American, and in sentences where rhythmical or stylistic considerations suggest this construction, as in the first and second of Mr. Horwill's examples <sup>35</sup>, who gives only one instance of the use of two non-prepositional objects, probably because he considers the two constructions to be identical dative-constructions.

As regards the British use of the *to*-phrase I still venture the suggestion that it has always been current long before Krüger established it, but in vocational language rather than in the recognised speech of the educated classes, let alone in literature. At any rate the Oxford Dictionary itself gives two instances of this usage sub 8c (transf.) and 8d (Stock-exchange) Obs.: *the wood is fed to the saw...*<sup>36</sup>; *feeding out stock to less dealers* <sup>37</sup>. It might be interesting to investigate the matter further. I feel confident that more British examples of this use of the *to*-complement would turn up, if only in vocational language.

### C. Use of *with*

Mr. Horwill does not mention this typically English construction, which is of considerably older standing than that with *on* which he prefers. Examples abound from about the year 1380 onwards. Compare: þe soule is fedde wiþ charite <sup>38</sup>. Krüger construes: *to feed an animal with (or on) some stuff* (alongside of ... *some food to an animal*). Reum <sup>39</sup> says: *to feed someone with (or on) hope, promises, illusions, etc.*

That the construction is also used in America is confirmed e.g. by Webster: *to feed a furnace with coal*. As to other modern examples I will only mention the Oxford Dictionary's definition of 'pigeon's milk': the partly-digested food *with which pigeons feed their young*, the above '*feeding him with cat's meat*', and Jespersen's construction (l.c., p. 241): *feed the dogs with bread and butter*.

### D. Use of *on*

The first example which the Oxford Dictionary gives of this construction, which Mr. Horwill pronounces (typically) British, dates from 1842: *dogs fed on oil or sugar*, become diseased. (The intr. v., however, has been construed with *on* since 1486). Flügel in his dictionary construes: *to feed on, upon* = 'mit'; Reum quotes: he fed his vanity on the thought of his own greatness; his eyes on the beauty of his mistress; to feed someone with (or on) hope, etc. Krüger construes: *what do you feed your baby on* when it is cutting its

<sup>32</sup> Kuhl, *Philol. Quarterly*, 1923 (American?); from Jespersen, l.c., p. 241.

<sup>33</sup> Langenscheidt's *English Monthly Mag.*, I, 1, 1935, p. 7. (Margaret Bourke-White, *Dust Changes America*; from *The Nation*).

<sup>34</sup> S. Chase, *Prosperity, Fact or Myth*, 1929, 185 (Paper Books).

<sup>35</sup> Note that in his third example 'the construction with the preposition is the more usual one, when the direct object is made the subject of a passive voice, and especially before a noun'. (Poutsma, l.c., III, 42b).

<sup>36</sup> *Eng. Mech.*, 1869.

<sup>37</sup> *Stock Exchange Laid Open*, 1814.

<sup>38</sup> Wyclif, c. 1380; the preposition *with* has superseded the older *mid*. Compare: He hi fedde mid fætre lynde hwæte, c. 1000.

<sup>39</sup> *A Dictionary of English Style*, 1931.

first tooth? <sup>40</sup>. As to other modern examples I mention only: *feed your dog regularly on these big, wholesome biscuits* <sup>41</sup>, and Mr. Wyld's definition of 'pigeon's milk': half-digested food *on which pigeons feed their young* <sup>42</sup>.

Finally let me add that Mr. Horwill is mistaken in apparently supposing the construction with *on* to be foreign to American usage. Compare: In his childhood he *was fed* (brought up) *on stories* of Indians bearing torture without a complaint <sup>43</sup>; it (sc. the mind) cannot *be fed* by antiquarians *on an old poetry* <sup>44</sup>. It must be noted, however, that these constructions with *on* are used by men of letters, who are steeped in the literary tradition of English.

### E. Use of *of*

The use of this preposition is now obsolete. Compare: *þe folke... was fed of breed & flesshe* <sup>45</sup>; was it superseded by *on*?

### F. Use of *into*

This seems to be of comparatively recent origin. Examples: *gold is fed into a vessel* containing aqua regia <sup>46</sup>; the wet sand... *is fed into the opening* <sup>47</sup>; but I also found the following description of a picture: *Mussolini feeding wheat into the machine* <sup>48</sup>.

\*   \*

One might be inclined to sum up and boil down what has been said about the chief constructions to a quite simple formula. The repeatedly quoted definition of 'pigeon's milk' with which we started readily suggests itself for this purpose. So let us pronounce the phrase

- A. *food which pigeons feed their young* <sup>49</sup>: spoken American;
- B. *food which pigeons feed to their young*: literary American, and modern British usage (not universally recognized);
- C. *food with which pigeons feed their young* <sup>50</sup>: literary English;
- D. *food on which pigeons feed their young* <sup>51</sup>: recognised present-day British usage.

Jena.

G. KIRCHNER.

<sup>40</sup> *Syntax*, Vol. I, p. 62.

<sup>41</sup> Advertisement in *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 27.10.1922, p. I.

<sup>42</sup> *The Universal Dict.*, 1932.

<sup>43</sup> L. Lewisohn in *Saturday Rev. of Lit.*, 9.3.1929, p. 752.

<sup>44</sup> J. C. Ransom, prof. of English at Vanderbilt Univ., in *Saturday Rev. of Lit.*, 27.7.1935,

p. 6.

<sup>45</sup> *Cursor Mundi*, c. 1340.

<sup>46</sup> *Oxford Dict.*, sub 8c, 1860. American?

<sup>47</sup> *ib. Harper's Mag.*, 1883.

<sup>48</sup> *Times*, 29.6.1935.

<sup>49</sup> This is the definition quoted by Krüger (see above, p. 217). Did he find it in any American dictionary? I have access to two large-scale American dictionaries only, Webster and Worcester. The latter unfortunately does not list 'pigeon's milk' at all; the former elects to define it as 'food which pigeons regurgitate for their young' and is not helpful either!

<sup>50</sup> definition of the *Oxford Dict.*

<sup>51</sup> definition of Mr. Wyld's *Universal Dict.*

## Reviews

*Altenglische Grammatik.* Von E. KIECKERS, o. ö. Professor der indogermanischen Sprachwissenschaft an der Universität Tartu (Dorpat). (Huebers Kurze Grammatiken.) XX + 199 pp. München: Max Hueber. 1935. RM. 5.20.

Perhaps the least satisfactory feature of this book is its name. By definition, an *Old English Grammar*, unqualified by any sub-title, should contain an account of the grammatical system of the language of such O.E. records as have come down to us. Actually, most O.E. grammars contain both more and less. Among nineteenth-century grammarians, the one who came nearest to treating the subject on what are now called 'synchronic' lines was Henry Sweet. On the basis, mainly, of a normalized type which he termed Early West Saxon<sup>1</sup>, he outlined the phonology, accidence and syntax of the 'Schriftsprache' of the Alfredian period. His successors deviated from the example set by him in two ways. For one thing, they omitted syntax, leaving this department to writers of articles and monographs. In the second place, whereas Sweet had treated of Old English with his eye steadily on the object<sup>2</sup>, his successors looked before and after — principally before. Even when they wrote *Abrisse* and *Elementarbücher*, they did not merely deal with Old English as such, but viewed it as the outcome of various historical developments, in accordance with the nineteenth-century notion that "the essence of anything is its history."<sup>3</sup> As Bülbring put it in his *Altenglisches Elementarbuch*: "Im folgenden wird unsere Aufgabe sein, die Entwicklung des Ae. aus der wg. Ursprache darzulegen. Wo es zweckmässig scheint, soll jedoch bis aufs Urgerm. zurückgegangen werden."

Kieckers differs from his predecessors of the historical school by going back, not only to West Germanic or Primitive Germanic, but to Indo-Germanic, thus pushing the method to its logical extreme. His *Altenglische Grammatik* appears to form part of a series of similar works by different authors dealing (or to deal) with Old French, Bulgarian, Polish, Lettish, Old High German

<sup>1</sup> Sweet's choice of 'Early West Saxon' as the standard for Old English has recently been criticized by C. L. Wrenn in a paper on "Standard" *Old English*, printed in the Philological Society's Transactions, 1933, pp. 65-88. Wrenn advocates the adoption of Ælfric's, rather than Alfred's, form of Old English as the norm for purposes of study ("... there is no evidence for anything like a widespread W. S. literary dialect in Alfred's time; nor can Alfredian prose make any claim to the title of "classical", as Ælfric's can.") — Further evidence of recent interest in the writings and language of Ælfric is afforded by Kenneth Sisam's articles on "MSS. Bodley 340 en 342: Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*" in *The Review of English Studies*, Jan. 1931, Jan. 1932 and Jan. 1933 (Vols. VII, 25; VIII, 29; IX, 33), and by Paul Meissner's "Studien zum Wortschatz Ælfrics" in *Archiv*, 165, 1/2, 166, 1/2 & 3/4 (1934-1935).

<sup>2</sup> This applies less strictly to the Grammar prefixed to his *Anglo-Saxon Reader*, where he speaks of *a, o, æ*, e.g., as having "developed out of Germanic *a*." In the *Anglo-Saxon Primer*, under *a, æ, ea*, he speaks, indeed, of 'original' *a* being 'preserved' before nasals, and 'becoming' *ea* or *æ* in other cases, but these, after all, are developments within Old English itself. When, however, he states that "*e* before nasals always becomes *i*," giving as an instance *bindan*, he lapses into diachrony.

<sup>3</sup> The aphorism is G. N. Clark's (*The Seventeenth Century*, p. 267), who formulates it in his discussion of the philosophy of Leibniz. When he goes on to say: "The rise of that idea formed in this, as elsewhere, the watershed between his age and ours," he seems to be unduly prolonging the nineteenth century.

and Russian. It is curious to note that, with the exception of Lettish, the titles referring to living languages are preceded by the epithet 'historical': *Historische Bulgarische Grammatik*, etc. Those on Old French and Old High German, however, like the one on Old English, are merely called *Altfranzösische Grammatik*, etc. The implication seems to be that living languages may be studied either synchronically or historically, but that an Old English or Old High German Grammar is necessarily historical, so that it is superfluous to indicate its character in the title. There is, of course, ample precedent for this proceeding; still, half a century after Sweet's work on Anglo-Saxon, and twenty years after the first edition of de Saussure's *Cours de Linguistique Générale*, it cannot be allowed to pass unchallenged.

Besides this theoretical objection to the book's name, there is a practical one. An Old English Grammar, whether historical or not, should at any rate give the student a clear idea of Old English. In the publisher's prospectus (there is no author's preface) it is claimed: "Diese Grammatik will vor allem den Anfänger durch eine sprachhistorische Darstellung mit dem Altenglischen bekannt machen." We are afraid that any attempt on the part of a beginner to master Old English with the help of this book, would end in disastrous failure; unless, indeed — but we cannot suppose either author or publisher guilty of such a quibble — the beginner were acquainted with at least a dozen Old Germanic and other Indo-Germanic languages, and ignorant of Old English only; and even then we doubt if he would be able to form a clear idea of the latter dialect. The opening of the section on *a* may be given as a sample of the treatment of O.E. Phonology: "*Idg. a, o, ə = urgerm. a. Die drei idg. Laute fielen urgerm. in a zusammen. Die normale ae. Entwicklung von a in geschlossener Silbe und in offener vor e der nächsten Silbe ist æ. Idg. \*a<sub>2</sub>gro-s 'Acker', urgerm. \*akra-z : got. akrs, aisl. akr, as. akkar, ahd. acker, ae. æcer, dazu lat. ager gr. ἀγρός."* Etc. This is to serve as the student's first introduction to Old English! The other vowels and consonants are dealt with in the same way: Indo-Germanic and Prim. Germanic sound-symbols in heavy type; examples confined to such O.E. words as can be traced back to the 'Grundsprache'; brief accounts of the changes caused by umlaut, breaking, etc.; the whole rounded off by a number of observations, mainly on non-W.S. dialects, in small print. In the Accidence, the historical method is a little less obtrusive. Nouns and Adjectives are, somewhat inconsistently, classified according to the Germanic instead of the Indo-Germanic form of the stem; the treatment of the Pronouns even starts from the O.E. paradigms. The sections on the Verb, however, are again encumbered with a profusion of Old Germanic and Indo-Germanic detail, which testifies to the author's learning, but is somewhat out of place in a primer.

The student who has mastered the elements of Old English before taking up this Grammar should be cautioned to use it with care. If the book was to be kept within proper limits, the extensive historical apparatus could only be introduced at the expense of the space available for Old English itself. Hence typical O.E. phenomena are often treated with undesirable brevity, which in some cases leads to obscurity or downright inaccuracy. What is meant by umlaut, for instance, is nowhere explained; of *i*-umlaut we are told: "Dieser wurde westgerm. durch ein ursprünglich folgendes *ī* oder *j* bewirkt und ist ae. vor der Zeit der literarischen Ueberlieferung eingetreten" — a formulation not exactly remarkable for perspicuity. Breaking is explained by means of a definition almost verbally borrowed from Bülbring; but Bül-

bring's "gewisse(n), unten angegebene(n) Ausnahmen" are omitted, so that the student is left under the impression that unbroken *a* is confined to non-W.S. dialects. Again, no synopsis is given of the characteristics differentiating the latter from the language of Alfred; the student has to collect what data he can from the various sections himself, without so much as a word-index to help him.

On the accuracy of statements concerning such languages as Avesta, Lithuanian, Old Irish, etc., the present reviewer is unable to pronounce; but a detailed criticism in the June number (1935) of the *Beiblatt zur Anglia* seems to show that their reliability is not beyond suspicion. The critic (Walter Preusler) also joins issue with Kieckers on the latter's views of palatalization and assibilation, which, again, are practically (if not verbally) identical with Bülbring's. We doubt, however, if Preusler is right in enlisting Luick on his side. At the time of his death (September 20), the author of the *Historische Grammatik der Englischen Sprache* was engaged on the history of English consonants; whether this chapter was in a sufficiently advanced condition to be published posthumously, wholly or in part, remains to be seen. But only a few months before, Luick had contributed an article "Zur Palatalisierung", dealing with the problem of such dialect forms as *brig* for *bridge*, to the Hoops-number of *Anglia*, and this rather suggests that his view of the matter agreed with Bülbring's. In it, palatalization and assibilation are both spoken of as belonging to the O.E. period, though, of course, the latter phenomenon is indicated as 'später.'

We regret being unable to think and write more favourably of the present work, much as we are impressed by the author's extensive learning. If any more Old English Grammars are to be written in the near future, our first need is, perhaps, for one taking up the subject where Sweet left it fifty years ago, and dealing with Old English — sound-system, accident and syntax — as such. In the present international constellation of English studies, Prague might be a more likely place to expect such a grammar from than Dorpat.

The Hague.

R. W. ZANDVOORT.

---

*Studies in Bishop Wærferth's Translation of the Dialogues of Gregory the Great.* By B. J. TIMMER. 122 pp. Wageningen: H. Veenman & Zonen. 1934.

Wærferð's vertaling dateert van het eind der 9e eeuw. Twee handschriften, C en O, stammen af van de oorspronkelijke vertaling. Een derde hs. Hatton 76 te Oxford (H) is van de elfde eeuw. Op gezag van de inleiding van Hans Hecht (*Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa* V<sup>2</sup>, 1907), die t.z.p. V, 1900, C en H naast elkaar afdrukt met de varianten van O aan den voet der bladzijde, neemt Timmer aan, dat H meer dan een eeuw jonger is dan CO. Zijn Groningsche dissertatie bevat drie hoofdstukken: de volgorde der woorden, de voorzetsels en het gebruik van *wearð* en *wæs* in het passivum. Hij vergelijkt hiervoor den tekst van H met dien van C en verwijst naar O alleen dan, wanneer de lezing van O een bijzondere beteekenis heeft. De S. heeft geen tijd

en moeite gespaard bij het verzamelen, bestudeeren en rangschikken der stof. Dat de resultaten van zijn onderzoek hieraan beantwoorden, is mij bij het herhaald ter hand nemen zijner dissertatie niet gebleken. Ik zou er de voorkeur aan gegeven hebben, als de S. aan het eind van ieder hoofdstuk zijn bevindingen kort en goed had opgesomd, ook als zijn resultaten niet een scherp omlijnden vorm konden aannemen, wat bij menig onderdeel tevoren te verwachten was, waar het gaat over nuanceeringen van syntactischen aard. Nu krijgt men den indruk, dat de oogst niet bijster groot geweest is en men vraagt zich af, of de keuze van het onderwerp, eenige capita selecta uit de vertalings-techniek van tekstredacties, die een eeuw verschillen, wel de moeite waard was. Ten eerste moet echter op prijs worden gesteld, dat de S. met groote volharding zijn materiaal van alle kanten heeft gezien en een ernstige poging heeft gedaan voorzichtige conclusies te trekken. Hoofdstuk I wijst op eenige typische verschillen in de volgorde der woorden tusschen C en H en toont door goed gekozen voorbeelden aan, dat H den Latijnschen tekst vloeiender weergeeft. Treffende resultaten heeft de S. niet kunnen vaststellen, omdat de opgemerkte verschillen toch weer allerlei uitzonderingen vertoonen. Hoofdstuk II over de voorzetsels geeft nuttige bijdragen voor de ags. lexicographie. Op bladz. 92 volg., waar hij over de postpositie spreekt, wijkt hij af van de meening van Wende en Wülfing en sluit zich aan bij die van Björkmann (*Archiv* 135, 137-9), die in de postpositie geen zuiver bijwoord, maar een beginnend verbaal compositum ziet. Terecht legt hij den nadruk op het accidenteele van de schrijfwijze in een of twee woorden (*fore wæs* en *forewæs*) en weerlegt het door Wende aangenomen verschil tusschen de Dialogen en de vertaling van Beda. In Hoofdstuk III toont de S. aan, dat H beter het verschil bewaard heeft tusschen *wæs* en *wearð* als hulpwerkwoorden bij het passivum en het streven vertoont de handeling meer dan den toestand te doen uitkomen.

Het moge den S. gegund zijn bij voortgezette studie de kennis van de vertaaltechniek verder uit te breiden.

Den Haag.

J. DANIELS S.J.

---

*The Synonyms for "Child", "Boy", "Girl" in Old English. An Etymological-Semasiological Investigation.* By HILDING BÄCK. *Lund Studies in English*, II. Pp. xvi + 273. Lund, 1934. Kr. 10.

This doctoral dissertation is divided into three chapters and a bibliography, to which are added a list of abbreviations and a register. In the first or introductory chapter (pp. vii-xvi) the author explains what he is about. The second chapter (pp. 1-240) is devoted to the investigation proper. The third chapter (pp. 241-252) gives, in summary form, (1) the proximate source of the senses under investigation and (2) the modifications and developments of these senses; in both (1) and (2) the sense-changes are classified according to the system of G. Stern, as set forth in his recent book *Meaning and Change of Meaning* (cf. *E. S.* XV, 21-27).

The author has investigated 208 OE words. He tells us (p. xiii):

*E. S.* XVII. 1935.

With regard to the texts read completeness has been aimed at and practically the whole of OE literature, as far as it has been printed and recorded in bibliographies, &c., has been examined. ... The number of examples given under the different words is fairly large; where there are a few instances all are generally given, as also in the case of senses not often evidenced. Especially numerous are the quotes from the older texts, above all those from the poetical ones.

By virtue of this fulness of treatment, the monograph will be found useful even in those sections where one disagrees with the conclusions. The actual literary passages, however, have not always been studied with the closeness which they deserve. I will illustrate this defect of the monograph by considering briefly the passages quoted on p. 188, where the author presents his evidence that the semantic development of OE *fæmne* proceeded from the sense 'woman' rather than from those senses ('young unmarried woman, girl, maiden, virgin') which imply or assert virginity.

The author points out that Holger Pedersen in 1930 (*Jespersen Miscellany*, pp. 55 ff.) connected *fæmne* with Greek *ποιμήν*. He goes on to say (p. 186):

The primary sense would accordingly be 'shepherdess.' Yet I do not agree with this etymology, in spite of the parallels quoted by H. Pedersen (op cit), because the meaning of the word in the oldest English texts seems to be 'wife' and 'woman' and the other senses to be derived from it.

When he comes to the texts themselves, he is forced to admit that he has found no clear cases of the sense 'wife' (p. 187), but he lists 21 examples (not all of them old) of the sense 'woman' (p. 188). Let us look at these examples. (1) *Beow* 2034. The reference here is to Freawaru, certainly a young woman if not indeed a girl, and presumably a virgin, since she is represented as a bride, not as a wife. Many commentators, it is true, reject A. Olrik's interpretation of the *Beowulf* episode as the story of a bloody bridal, but it can hardly be anything else if E. A. Kock is right in thinking that the events took place at the Danish court; see Kock, *Anglia* XLVI, 174 ff. and my note, *ib.* LVII, 218 ff. In *Mod. Phil.* XXVII, 257 ff., I have discussed the episode as a whole, and need not repeat my arguments here. It will be enough to say that *Beowulf* 2034 is not a sound basis for Mr. Bäck's theories about *fæmne*. See further *Anglia* LV, 271. (2) *Beow* 2059. The word here is not *fæmnan* but *fæmnanþegn*, as A. J. Barnouw long ago pointed out (*Textkritische Untersuchungen*, p. 23). Whatever this word means (see my discussion, *Mod. Phil.* XXVII, 259), it yields us little to the present point. (3) *Gen* 184. The reference is to Eve, who, since she has just been created, must be reckoned still in a state of innocence, a *virgo intacta* indeed, and as young as a person fully grown could well be. (4) *Gen* 884. Again we have Eve, and since *fæmne* here is a variation of *bryd* 883, while the scene is the Garden of Eden, the poet may well have thought of the pair as not yet fallen into sexual indulgence, even though the apple had been eaten and mankind was already on the downward path. (5) *Gen* 998. Once more Eve, and again with reference to the apple: the *fæmne*, the spotless one, loses her innocence and thereby brings woe upon all mankind. (6) *Gen* 1722. The reference is to Sarah, Abraham's wife, at the time of her marriage; *fæmne* may well mean 'virgo' here, and certainly cannot be stretched beyond the limits of *bryd*. (7) *Riddle* 43 (42), 5. Here the reference is to a hen, who lost her virginity "if the deed was a success." To take the *fæmne* of this passage in any sense other than 'virgin' is to spoil the joke. (8) *Gnom Ex* 64.

Here *fæmne* is contrasted with *wif* and, it would seem, innocent youth with corrupt maturity. (9) *Mart* 4, 18. Here *fæmnan* may mean either 'virgin' or 'innocent young woman' but it can hardly have reference to a mature woman. (10) *Mart* 16, 1. Here *fæmnum* must mean 'virgins.' (11) *Mart* 40, 9. The two *fæmnan* are "Wisdom and Chastity personified," as Mr. Bäck himself explains. (12) *Lieb* I. 38. Here *fæmnan* may mean 'women' but the connexion with magical powers seems to imply virginity. (13) *Bede M* 124, 6. Here *fæmnan* probably means 'young women, maidens.' (14, 15) In these two passages we have to do with epithets of the Virgin Mary, as Mr. Bäck notes. (16, 17) The references are to Eve immediately after her creation, when she was in a state of innocence; Ælfric may, besides, have taken the *virago* of the *Vulgate* as a variant of *virgo*. (18) *Marg Narr* 42, 1. Here *fæmnan* may mean 'woman' but we cannot be sure just what the writer had in mind. (19) *Apoll Z* 18, 16. It seems obvious that *fæmnan* here means 'virgin.' (20, 21) In these two passages *fæmnum* translates *feminis*; the translation may have been inspired or supported, in part, by the likeness of *fæmne* and *femina* in phonetic pattern (i.e. by pseudo-etymological considerations), but the translator's choice of *fæmne* was chiefly due, no doubt, to the fact that chastity and continence were the topics under discussion.

Mr. Bäck admits that 'virgo' is the ordinary meaning of *fæmne* in Old English. He points out further that this sense is often hard to distinguish from the senses 'young unmarried woman, girl, maiden,' since all these carry with them the presumption of virginity. In our survey, moreover, we have not found a single clear case of *fæmne* in the sense 'woman' (let alone 'wife'), i.e. in a sense which carries with it no presumption of virginity. Pedersen's etymology proceeds from a prehistoric sense 'herd-girl' out of which the extant meanings are readily derivable. The etymology favored by Mr. Bäck, on the contrary, finds no support in the senses recorded in the OE literary monuments and must be rejected.

Baltimore, U.S.A.

KEMP MALONE.

*The Relation and Development of English and Icelandic Outlaw-Traditions.* By J. DE LANGE. 138 pp. Haarlem, H. D. Tjeenk Willink & Zoon N.V. 1935 (Nederlandsche Bijdragen op het Gebied van Germaansche Philologie en Linguistiek, VI). f 2.25.

This interesting and suggestive book may be described as an attempt to account for the existence of outlaw-tales in England on the theory of Scandinavian influence. The author takes up Hereward, Gamelyn and Robin Hood in successive chapters. In Chapter IV he analyses the tales of Fulk Fitzwarin and Eustache the Monk, and sketches (pp. 82-5) the "development of the English outlaw-tradition." In Chapters V and VI he examines the Icelandic material, with particular attention to the *Ánssaga bogsveigis*, a saga included in Rafn's collection of *Fornaldarsögur* and hitherto regarded as late and fictitious rather than traditional. The book ends with a "Conclusion" of eight pages, from which I quote the following (p. 130):

Our ultimate conclusion is then that we must assume the old Norse outlaw-tradition, as embodied in the *An-saga*, to represent the trunk of which the Icelandic and the English outlaw-matter are the branches. Each branch has developed in its own way ... without ever losing altogether the inherent Scandinavian impress of the original tradition.

Evidently the author's thesis is rooted and grounded in the *Anssaga*. After reading this saga afresh I find myself not convinced of its traditional character, in spite of De Lange's arguments. If we had old versions or references, as we have when it comes to other *Fornaldarsögur*, the case of course would be altered, but as matters stand it is hazardous to put the *Anssaga* back into the Norway of "pre-Icelandic time" (p. 131).

A few notes on matters of detail may be worth giving. The author gives to Hereward the surname *Saxon* (p. 3), abandoning the usual surname *Wake* on the ground that it first occurs in a 14th century document (p. 9). It seems rather late to give Hereward a new surname; if the old one be rejected, let him get on as best he can without a surname. In any case, moreover, the tribal name *Saxon* is manifestly inappropriate: Hereward was surely an Angle rather than a Saxon. And whatever his birthplace he would presumably have felt himself to be simply an Englishman, not a tribesman. On English nationalism in the 11th century, see especially R. W. Chambers, *On the Continuity of English Prose*, p. lxiii. I cannot agree, however, that *Wake* is to be rejected out of hand. It looks like a variant of *Wrake* 'outlaw,' with loss of *r* by dissimilation: the three *r*'s in *Hereward Wrake* were felt to be too many and were diminished by one. If so, the surname is very much to the point, and should be kept. The author's emendation of *Turfridae* to *Turfrida* (p. 8) does needless violence to the text of Ingulf. I can find no "antipathy towards the church" in *Gamelyn* or the Robin Hood ballads (p. 38). The antipathy is rather to the religious (as against the secular) clergy, and to high dignitaries like bishops. The names *Iohan*, *Ote* and *Adam* are not of French origin (p. 41): *Iohan* and *Adam* are Biblical names, while *Ote* is a Gmc name, presumably of Scandinavian origin (ON *Auti*); see Mats Redin, *Studies on uncompounded Names in Old English*, p. 136. It is going too far to say that "the story of *Gamelyn* must have been of Scandinavian origin" (p. 42). The first volume of A. Olrik's *Danmarks Heltedigtning* came out in 1903, not in 1908 (p. 133).

Baltimore.

KEMP MALONE.

---

*Swift, Gulliver's Travels and Selected Writings in Prose and Verse.* Edited by JOHN HAYWARD for the Nonesuch Press, Bloomsbury; New York: Random House, 1934. xviii + 868 pp. 8/6.

*The Letters of Jonathan Swift to Charles Ford.* Edited by DAVID NICHOL SMITH. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1935. xlvii + 260 pp. 15/— net.

*Swift, or The Egotist.* By MARIO M. ROSSI and JOSEPH M. HONE. London: Gollancz. 1934. 418 pp. 15/—.

Even before psycho-analysis existed, Swift's life had been a favourite hunting-ground for students of the abnormal. But supposing he had lived in

the times of Lucian — as he well might for the character of his work —, supposing one knew next to nothing about his private affairs, supposing Stella and Vanessa had no more reality for us than Hermoglyphikè and Paideia in Lucian's *Dream*, being two allegorical women trying each to annex the writer, who would ever have found inducement in Swift's work to represent him as a monster?

There are two similes in Rossi's and Hone's study which render very well the impression felt by any unbiassed reader of that work: "he is like a cold pillar, erect and strong", "hard as a diamond, and as a diamond incorruptible". One would think that no psychologist's hammer could smash that diamond, no chisel attack that pillar without slipping away in defeat. However there are people, like Mr. Aldous Huxley, who draw our attention to the foot of the pillar, and, to use Baretti's phrase<sup>1</sup>, show it "smeared with filth". In a pamphlet *Apropos of Lady Chatterley's Lover*, D. H. Lawrence wrote:

The mind has an old grovelling fear of the body and the body's potencies... The mind's terror of the body has probably driven more men mad than ever could be counted. The insanity of a great mind like Swift's is at least partly traceable to this cause. In the poem to his mistress Celia, which has the maddened refrain "But Celia, Celia, Celia s\*\*\*s," (the word rhymes with spits), we see what can happen to a great mind when it falls into panic. A great wit like Swift could not see how ridiculous he made himself. Of course Celia s\*\*\*s! Who doesn't? And how much worse if she didn't. It is hopeless. And then think of poor Celia, made to feel iniquitous about her proper natural function, by her "lover". It is monstrous. And it comes from having taboo words, and from not keeping the mind sufficiently developed in physical and sexual consciousness.

That Swift's attention to the scatological was exceptional even for the free-spoken and to a certain extent foul-spoken Augustan era, one may be ready to admit. But surely, as the present biographers say: "There is no need to go beyond normal psychology" to explain that peculiarity. Maybe the hundred golden pippins which started Swift's stomach troubles in 1689 are the great *trouvaille* that is in wait for explorers of the Swift mystery at the end of their investigations. When we know that Swift thought of the malady from which he suffered throughout life, as brought about by stomach troubles, and that, wrong as he may have been (was his disease, in fact, a kind of permanent labyrinthitis?), the physicians did their worst to keep him in that opinion ("I have been twice severely vomited, to the utmost I could possibly bear, but without amendment", he wrote in one of his letters to Ford, and Ford replied: "physicians are merciless dogs in purging or vomiting to no purpose, when they don't know what to do"), one wonders who makes himself more ridiculous, Swift by feeling panicky about bodily functions, or rather D. H. Lawrence by accusing him of "not keeping the mind sufficiently developed in physical consciousness." The author of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* might have been assured that doctors took care of keeping Swift's mind "sufficiently developed in physical consciousness"; and as for taboo words and repressions, D. H. Lawrence probably never knew or thought of the minute descriptions of bodily ailments in the *Journal to Stella*, and of such blunt beginnings of letters as: "I have taken a vomit to-day", or such uncompromising endings as: "I must purge and clyster after this." For Swift may never have

<sup>1</sup> Baretti said (*Opere*, Milan 1813, Vol. I, p. 322): "Few Englishmen are ready to confess that a side of Swift's fancy was smeared with filth."

married Stella, but he certainly bestowed on her all the prosaic confidences of married life. Indeed, he entertained her so continuously with his health bulletins, as to cause her to become also an invalid out of sympathy. And one does not see the need of a theory of impotence to explain why such valetudinarians were not ardent lovers.

Rather than commiserate Swift for his great mind having been driven insane by terror of the body, one ought to conclude with Rossi and Hone that "the real greatness and the real sanity of Swift are clearly shown by his resistance under the dreadful ordeal... It would not have been sane for a man in his condition to have been patient with mankind as it is. And yet the worst accusation against Swift's sanity has been precisely his misanthropy, his hatred of mankind."

Psycho-analysts may construe as they like garbled contemporary reports; their dissecting instruments will attack in vain that cold pillar, that incorruptible diamond, Swift's work. One is bound to agree with Rossi's and Hone's main contention :

The whole work of Swift precludes us from considering him as a man given to solitary dreams and secret fancies. Secretive only out of social necessity and normal shunning of publicity, he expressed himself completely: expressed himself in hate, in self-reliance, without shame or bashfulness, open in avowal of the peculiar turns of his mind.

For all the repulsiveness of the Brobdingnag women and the filthiness of the female Yahoos, there is nothing so morbid in the whole of *Gulliver's Travels* as the last part of Huxley's *Brave New World*. There is a hard, logical quality about Swift's inventions which precludes any possible reference to the "subconscious". "Swift's allegories", rightly maintain the authors of the present biography — "are indeed sought for and constructed; not intuitively invented, poetically inspired." One would vainly try to find in him blurred contours, passages implying more than they express. Does the epithet "classical" as opposed to "romantic" suit him best? But there is a geometrical quality in his writings which is alien both to the classics and the romantics. And if *Gulliver's Travels* indisputably makes on us a strong impression, at least for the *Voyage to the Country of the Houyhnhnms*, that impression can hardly be called one of "charm" with Mr. John Hayward. Charm is rather the last quality we would associate with Swift. His style, again, may be admired for the "simplicity and precision in the use of words" — I am quoting Mr. Hayward —; it is supremely adequate, but not more than adequate; it never carries us off our feet. It is no case for Longinus's *Of the Sublime*. "A master of exposition, and perfectly familiar with the least exigency of his vehicle, yet there is nothing in his writings that can be regarded as purely literary ... This man was never a writer, a literary man, a poet — call it what you will, no appropriate definition of him as a writer will be found... There was indeed nothing in his soul which compelled him to express himself, he had no pleasure in expressing what he felt... His work is mainly objective; for himself, he had nothing to say" (Rossi and Hone, pp. 20-21). Contradictory as it may seem to say so of a writer whose *Drapier's Letters* inflamed a country to resistance, Swift's style — one may maintain — is self-contained, it does not radiate: it is devoid of magic power, literally, of "charm". An extreme case of this hard, uncommunicative quality, is *A Modest Proposal for preventing the Children of Poor People*, etc. which "does not even give us

the creeps; it is too dry for that." Inhuman, one would say, if normal psychology was not well acquainted with cases of egotism like Swift's. For "egotism", the common denominator to which Rossi and Hone try to refer all Swift's peculiarities, is perhaps the best formula ever devised to explain this puzzling genius.

Not the least ironies attendant on the destiny of this master of irony, are that he, who more than anybody possessed that characteristic of the male, egotism, should be deemed no better than a eunuch, and that he, who would not have children near him, should be condemned to entertain children throughout the generations by his bitter satire against humanity. Society, in self-protection, degraded her too virile enemy to the rank of a moron, and his formidable impeachment to a harmless fairy-tale for children :

O miserable change! is this the man,  
That invincible Samson.....

Shorn of all his precious fleece and disarmed, Samson-Swift has been allowed to walk among his enemies and amuse their children. To the general public, which "enjoys" reading *Gulliver's Travels*, Mr. John Hayward's excellent selection should come as a warning, for it gives enough of Swift's works to outweigh the seemingly entertaining portions of his masterpiece. Mr. Hayward has done more than restoring to its proper likeness the portrait of Swift; he has tried to give a text which resembles as closely as possible his original manuscript, and has presented for the first time in its complete form Swift's *Verses on his own Death*. So far Swift's work has never been adequately edited, with the notable exceptions of Mr. Harold Williams's *Gulliver's Travels* (First Edition Club, 1926), and the Clarendon Press editions of *A Tale of A Tub* (ed. Guthkelch and Nichol Smith, 1920), of *The Drapier's Letters* (ed. Herbert Davis), and of the *Letters to Charles Ford*, now edited for the first time by Nichol Smith. These fifty-one letters, which represent Swift's correspondence with his best friend, are first of all important for establishing the date of composition of *Gulliver's Travels*: they show that Swift was at work in earnest in 1721, that he had written the draft of the first two Voyages before the end of 1723, that he wrote the fourth Voyage next and had completed the draft by January 1724, and that he was then engaged on the third Voyage. Secondly, they show us (letter of January 6th, 1718-19) that Swift was "personally concerned for the death of the King of Sweden", Charles XII, because he intended to "have begged his bread at his court", when he seriously thought that he might have to leave the country. Of this intention nothing was known until now, and one cannot help regretting that the metaphorical slaughterer of Yahoos, Swift, should not have entered into such intimate connection with that actual butcher of them, the bellicose King of Sweden. Egotists both, warriors both, fighting to the last and dying on the field. These letters give also some little help with the difficult problem of the Swift canon; they allow us to say definitely now that *The Right of Precedence between Physicians and Civilians* is not his, and that we must question his authorship of *The Puppet Show*. Finally, better than any series of letters to any other friend, they give us Swift in undress, difficult as we may find it to reconcile with our idea of the tragical egotist this image of a happy schoolboy: "Happiness when I was a schoolboy, the delicious Holidays, the Saturday afternoon, and the charming Custards in a blind Alley..."

*Jewish Characters in Eighteenth Century English Fiction and Drama.* By Dr. H. R. S. VAN DER VEEN. 308 pp. Groningen: J. B. Wolters. 1935. f 4.90.

This book, a most praiseworthy and thorough investigation of its subject, fills a gap in eighteenth century studies, and as such should be welcome to all students of the period. To give any adequate summary of its contents in so short a space as a reviewer has at his disposal is impossible; suffice it to say that Dr. van der Veen has spared no pains to make his work as exhaustive as possible, and that there are probably very few references to Jews in the fiction and drama produced between 1700 and 1800 that he has not succeeded in tracking down. Much of his material is necessarily of a miscellaneous nature, culled from minor authors, and beyond reflecting a certain attitude towards the Jewish race is not of outstanding significance. But there are a number of points upon which he has made new and important contributions. He has, for instance, given a fairly full study of the attitude of Defoe and Smollett to the Semitic question, and especially does he stress the change of tone observable in the works of the later writer from 1753 onwards. He has, too, shown that the Jewess, on the whole, came off much more lightly than her men-folk, probably because social conditions rarely brought writers into contact with the female sex of the race. Again, he has brought a good deal of new light to the study of his subject by setting it against its social and historical background, and has emphasised, quite rightly, it seems, the importance from the literary point of view of the movements for Jewish emancipation which agitated the period. The "Jew Bill" of 1753, which sought to give civil rights and religious freedom to the Jewish community in England, provoked such a storm of protest that it had to be repealed only a year after it had passed into law, and no doubt the excitement thus aroused was exploited by authors for their own ends.

This list, however, does not exhaust Dr. van der Veen's achievements. When considering Jews in literature one inevitably thinks of Dickens's Fagin. In this book he is constantly referred to, and our author has been at some pains to trace out the possible influence of Fielding upon Dickens, though now and again, one feels, he is led into unwarranted conjecture. The use of gibberish upon the stage by Jewish characters he has traced as far back as 1735, almost fifty years earlier than the date given by Mr. Landa in his *Jew in Drama*, while the influence of the *Merchant of Venice* he has shown to have been far less potent than has hitherto been assumed. On the whole, Dr. van der Veen holds, the popularity of this play was a result rather than a cause of the Jewish-vogue in literature. "In a period of about one hundred and sixty years following the production of *The Merchant of Venice*, only eleven Jew plays were written, whereas during the first forty-seven years after the repeal of the naturalisation bill the number of such plays was no less than twenty-four. The first half of the century produced but five Jew plays, while the second half can boast twenty-three. When drawing conclusions from these figures, we must of course make allowance for the fact that during the latter half of the century a greater number of plays was written than during the first. But we may safely say that, comparatively speaking, the stage Jew absorbed a great deal more attention than in the preceding five decades."

This quotation, in fact, summarises the general conclusions of Dr. van der

Veen's study: i.e., that for various reasons (to which he might have added the popularity of Jewish singers upon the English stage), comparatively little notice was taken of the Jew in literature before 1753, but that after that date dramatists and novelists alike frequently introduced him into their works. At the same time, with the march of the humanitarian movement, a more tolerant attitude was developing. As most students will know, the chief exponent of this was Richard Cumberland, and to his position in the sentimental movement our author gives detailed consideration, drawing his material, as Mr. Landa never did, from the essays and early plays, as well as from the better known piece, *The Jew*. But perhaps Dr. van der Veen's most important contribution to his subject is the chapter which deals with unpublished plays, especially *The Jerusalem Infirmary* and *The Israelite*, the text of which he prints in an appendix.

There are, however, certain minor slips and shortcomings in the book, and it is hoped that it will not be regarded as a depreciation of a most valuable piece of work if they are pointed out. Several mis-spellings have crept in, presumably through hasty proof-reading; *Tristram Shandy* invariably appears without its medial *r*; "pravity" (page 39) is surely a misprint for "depravity", while "impopularity" (page 14) should read "unpopularity". The implication in the note on page 35 that certain dialogue in *Oliver Twist* was influenced by reminiscences of *The Beggar's Opera* seems far-fetched, since the ideas in each are commonplace enough and might easily have occurred to Gay and Dickens independently, and the statement (page 102) that in Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* "there is not the slightest indication that Jessica ridicules her father or speaks ill of him" is surely hair-splitting, and certainly requires some modification in view of her remarks in the brief third scene of Act II. Defoe's authorship of the *Memoirs of Captain Carlton* is not quite so certain as Dr. van der Veen assumes; and the whole point of the quotation from *Mist's Journal* of April 1, 1721, given on page 20, appears to have been misunderstood. The repetition of Colley Cibber's remark about Jews boiling their Westphalia hams in champagne is far more likely to be a satire against Cibber than against the Jews. Then the author has gone astray once or twice through his unfamiliarity with colloquial as distinct from literary English. For instance, on page 150 he collects together several instances of the use of the phrase "as rich as a Jew", tries to attach some special significance to it or to read into it some indication of the attitude of the writers who employed it, and then points out in a footnote that Bernard Shaw uses the same expression in *You Never Can Tell*; but since the phrase was, and still is, a commonplace idiom, it is futile to attempt attaching much significance to it. Or again, on page 35 we read, "Dickens' use of the extremely uncommon names Barney and Ikey, allows of only one explanation, that he had some knowledge of Barney Fence, the stage Jew of *Van Diemen's Land*, and Ikey Solomons, Fielding's notorious receiver of stolen goods". As a matter of fact, so far as this piece of evidence goes, it proves nothing, since Barney is by no means an uncommon name, and Ikey (a diminutive of Isaac) has long been a stock nick-name for a Jew, as common as Mac for a Scotsman or Paddy for an Irishman. Perhaps, too, Dr. van der Veen tends to attach too much weight to casual references to Jews, made in a semi-jocular fashion, and to treat them as though they were intended seriously. After all, even in the eighteenth century some of these things must have passed into time-honoured jokes, much like the mother-in-law joke nowadays or the jest about the parsimony of the Scotsman, and their

employment does not necessarily argue malevolence. In any case, so far as this type of satire is concerned, the Jew was not the sole victim; he shared the honour with Mohammedans, Methodists, Papists, Jacobites and High Churchmen.

In conclusion it should be said that the book has a good bibliography; though here again an improvement might have been effected if, instead of the author's merely entering the names of periodicals (e.g., *English Studies*, *The Jewish Chronicle*, *The Jewish Quarterly Review*) he had stated the title of the relevant articles and the names of the authors.

Sheffield.

FREDERICK T. WOOD.

*Die Memoirs um 1700. Eine Studie zur Entwicklung der realistischen Romankunst vor Richardson.* Von JOHANNA BIRNBAUM, geb. Göhr. (Studien zur englischen Philologie, LXXIX). 117 pp. Halle: Max Niemeyer. 1934. Rm. 4.50.

*Die Erzählkunst in Thackeray's 'Vanity Fair.'* Von LUDWIG BAUCKE. 187 pp. (Britannica, Heft IV). Hamburg: Friedrichsen, de Gruyter & Co. 1932. RM. 8.—.

Following out a suggestion made by Professor Herbert Schöffler in his *Protestantismus und Literatur*, Frau Birnbaum has attempted to trace out the development of the "Memoirs" type of literature up to the year 1740, and to relate it to the evolution of the English novel, particularly to the art of the novel as practised by Richardson; and on the whole one must admit that she has performed her task successfully, though as is only natural in a book of this type, which sets out to explore a very large field hitherto uncharted, there are certain shortcomings which strike a reader as soon as he attempts to view the subject against the wider background of contemporary literature. Not the least among them is a tendency to prolixity and circumlocution. Frau Birnbaum tends to talk around a point, to labour it needlessly, and to illustrate it with numerous examples and protracted quotations, until we become rather impatient and are tempted to skip the superfluous passages. But still, in spite of this, the book is a good one, and lays a sound foundation on which future scholars will be able to build.

Frau Birnbaum distinguishes four main types of Memoir-literature during the years 1670-1740; namely what she styles a) Hofmemoiren, b) Adelsmemoiren, c) Bürgerliche Memoiren, d) Robinsonaden und Abenteuergeschichten. All made their contribution to that tradition which was to culminate in the eighteenth century novel, and up to a point all have certain common characteristics. All, for instance, delight in an air of mystery and secrecy. Some were anonymous, others were by "a person of quality", "a late confidant of the Queen", "a person of distinction", or someone equally elusive. Again, many of them claimed to be "true but secret" histories — a catch-title that could always be relied upon to attract notice — containing interesting, scandalous matter never before divulged. They centred the attention of the

reader on one main character, while in most cases, in spite of the assurance of the title-page, the authors had no scruples about mixing truth with fiction; or to put it more charitably, they allowed their imagination to carry them away and to expand the genuine historical facts.

"Die Autoren", writes Frau Birnbaum, "sind soweit Kinder ihrer Zeit, dass sie das Bedürfnis nach Wirklichkeitsnähe ihrer Kunst haben. Wo ihre Phantasie Menschen und Handlungen schafft, dulden sie keine schemenhaften Gestalten. So gleiten Wirklichkeit und Fiktion durcheinander." (Page 44).

So, unconsciously, these memoir writers were paving the way for the novel. Then, besides these general characteristics, specific works made their own contributions. *The Memoirs of the Life of the Count de Grammont* introduced the courtly element; *The Cabinet Open'd*, or *the Secret History of the Amours of Madame de Maintenon* (1690) manifested the moralising and sentimental strain which before long was to appear first in the drama and then in the novel, while the realistic descriptions and dialogues in the semi-fictitious biographies remind us inevitably of the early novelists.

"Von dieser Pseudogeschichtsschreibung bis zu den klassischen Memoiren ist nur noch ein kleiner Schritt. Hier und da befinden wir uns auf unsicherem Grund, weil man nicht weiss, was als geschichtliche Tatsache, was als Fiktion anzusehen ist. Überall da, wo die geschichtlichen Tatsachen in den Hintergrund rücken und das Interesse an einigen wenigen Personen überwiegt, wo Phantasie und die Lust am Erzählen triumphieren, geht die Pseudogeschichtsschreibung in den Roman über." (Page 97).

One naturally asks the reason for the popularity of this type of memoir. According to Frau Birnbaum it is to be found in the Restoration and eighteenth century delight in scandal, gossip, "high life", and sensation, a reaction from the restraint of the Puritan era, and that, no doubt, helps to account for it; but one feels that it is not the complete explanation. The early eighteenth century delighted in mystery and whimsicality (cf. its Bickerstaffes and Drapiers, as well as the numerous mystifying pamphlets and fictitious "Keys"); it was pre-eminently a social age and an age of satire, and since it was convinced that "the proper study of mankind is man", it was intensely interested in people and their doings. To find a full explanation, all these facts, as well as others, would have to be taken into consideration.

Frau Birnbaum is quite correct, I think, in stating that if the "true history" type of memoirs was initiated by Mrs. Behn, it was Defoe who popularised it; and her list of one hundred and thirty-eight memoirs published between 1670 and 1740 is most useful, though it is not complete. Several of Curll's memoirs of celebrated people (e.g. *The Authentick Memoirs of Mrs. Anne Oldfield*, 1730, and the *Memoirs of the Life of the Right Honourable Joseph Addison Esq.*, 1719) are omitted, as are also Lucas' *Memoirs of the Lives, Intrigues and Comical Adventures of the Most Famous Gamesters*, 1714, Defoe's *Secret History of the White Staff*, (1714), and Samuel Madden's *Memoirs of the Twentieth Century*, the last two satirical accounts of political personalities of the day. Details of other works would have been found in the early chapters of Mark Longaker's *English Biography in the Eighteenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1931), a most important and scholarly book, of which Frau Birnbaum seems ignorant. As for the *Memoirs of Captain Carlton*, though they are here attributed to Defoe, the evidence for his authorship is not very convincing, as the writer herself admits at a later stage of her work.

The achievements of these memoir writers and their contributions to the development of the English novel are succinctly summed up by Frau Birnbaum in her penultimate chapter; and finally she comes to discuss Richardson's own debt to them. An examination of the Stationers' Register has convinced her that during his years of apprenticeship Richardson must have read a good many of their works. In fact, she avers,

"Selbst aus einfachen Kreisen stammend, lässt er seine Romane in Adelskreisen spielen. Als outsider in dieser Welt war die Lektüre weltlicher Bücher für ihn Notwendigkeit. Aus ihnen aber entnahm er nicht nur die Kenntnis dieser Gesellschaftsschicht, nicht nur die Motive, sondern auch die Darstellungsart. Ohne die vorangehende Memoirenkunst ist die realistische Gestaltung der Richardson-Romane undenkbar."

The Hamilton memoirs especially, our author thinks, must have influenced him in *Sir Charles Grandison*. The parallels which she draws between the two works are not all convincing; some are too general to carry a great deal of weight, but her main thesis seems incontestable.

If Frau Birnbaum's object is to trace out the development of one of the main influences which went to the making of the novel in its earlier stages, Dr. Baucke sets out to conduct a critical examination of the novelist's art as it found its manifestation in the work of Thackeray, one of the masters of the craft of fiction. Up to a point the same general charge can be levelled against him as against his fellow countrywoman, though of the two his transgression is probably the more serious. He is concerned primarily with the technique of *Vanity Fair*, to which he gives an exhaustive study; but one feels that his object could have been accomplished equally well in half the space. A mere glance at the list of contents and the section-headings is sufficient to show that the treatment is comprehensive enough. After an examination of the methods which Thackeray employs to produce the illusion of reality, Herr Baucke goes on to demonstrate with what care he has worked out the chronological sequence of events in his plot, and further how these fictitious events fit into the historical background. Considerable attention is given to methods of character-revelation and development, to the skilful use of contrast effects (e.g. in the portraits of Mr. Osborne and George), to the description of objective, external appearances, as well as to the revelation of personality and mental states. But even this does not represent the full scope of the work, for attention is drawn to Thackeray's achievement in harmonising environment with the prevalent emotions of a particular episode, while the author dwells at some length on the musical quality of the best of the descriptive passages in the book; and no writer on Thackeray, of course, could avoid commenting on his employment of satire and irony. As Herr Baucke sees it, from beginning to end *Vanity Fair* is a novel of ideas. Not only the work in its entirety, but each chapter, each character, is the expression of an abstract conception.

Most readers of this book will find that they are in complete agreement with the author, and this mainly because of what is the central defect of his work. He spends too much time in labouring and demonstrating the obvious. Two examples from many will suffice. He wishes to show that one of Thackeray's principal methods of producing an illusion of reality is by the assumption on the one hand of ignorance, and on the other of certainty on the part of the reader. This occupies six pages, of which the greater part

is quotation, elaboration and needless explanation. Again, on page 51, when dealing with the symbolic significance of the title, he makes the statement that "Die Ueberschrift des Werkes ist ein lebenerfülltes, mannigfach deutbares Symbol für den Gehalt des Geschehens in den Grenzen, die durch den gesellschaftlichen Ausschnitt der epischen Welt bestimmt werden." Obvious enough, one would think; yet our author occupies almost another six pages to prove it! There is no need to particularise any further. An intelligent reader of Thackeray's work, with a little thought and examination of the text, can draw the same conclusions as Herr Baucke, without spending so much time and effort over the task.

Sheffield.

FREDERICK T. WOOD.

*The Monthly Review, First Series, 1749-1789. Indexes of Contributors and Articles.* By BENJAMIN CHRISTIE NANGLE. Pp. 256. Oxford University Press. 1934. 15/- net.

*The Monthly Review* was one of the most important of English literary periodicals of the late eighteenth century. In those fifty years a large number of similar publications sprang up, mushroom fashion, flourished for a few years and then died, but the *Monthly Review*, together with the *Gentleman's Magazine* and a few others, maintained its circulation and gained an honourable place for itself amongst the reading public of the day. It was founded by the bookseller Ralph Griffiths in 1749, and he remained its editor and sole director until his death in 1803. When it was firmly established he gave up all other business activities to devote his energies to his editorial duties, so that the greater part of Griffiths' life is really the story of *The Monthly Review*.

As Professor Nangle very justly remarks in his preface, "that a literary review should retain for over half a century its position as a respected, widely read and financially profitable venture, argues the existence of wise editorial guidance, and of principles deliberately established and consistently maintained." Yet ever since Forster painted his none too kindly portrait of Griffiths in the *Life of Goldsmith* (1848) his name, along with that of Edmund Curll, has been taken to stand for all that was shady and dishonest in the publishing world of the eighteenth century. Actually Griffiths was a very different kind of person, and Professor Nangle has gone far to setting his character in a clearer light. No doubt his relations with Goldsmith were none too amicable towards the end of their association; but then the erratic, irresponsible Irishman must have been a most tiresome employee, and one suspects that the greater share of the blame for their estrangement must rest with Goldsmith himself. At least, the charge of "sweating" and niggardly payment of his hirelings which Goldsmith brought against Griffiths seems to be definitely disproved by the evidence adduced by Professor Nangle.

Griffiths, who took his duties very seriously, was a much more conscientious editor than the majority in those days. Not only did he centralise control in himself, so that there was no such thing as divided counsels, but he selected his reviewers most carefully, entrusting each work to none but specialists in the particular field which it covered. Moreover, he insisted on impartiality

in his reviews, and refused to allow his authors to air personal grievances or to colour their judgements by religious or political considerations. He himself was a staunch Whig and Dissenter, but that made no difference to his choice of contributors; on one occasion he engaged a Roman Catholic to write up a notice of a theological work, presumably on the ground that he would be better able to do it justice than any of the dissenting reviewers whom he had already on his staff. Everything points to the fact that Griffiths conducted his journal with absolute fairness, impartiality and honesty. It is perhaps not too much to style him the first editor in the modern sense of the term.

All Griffiths' contributors were anonymous. In the present book, by careful detective work, based to a large extent upon Griffith's own annotated file of the review which is now at the Bodley Library, Professor Nangle has been able to assign an author to all the more important papers. Almost five thousand articles are dealt with, by nearly one hundred and fifty writers. They are arranged first under the names of authors, and then alphabetically according to title; and after that there follows an index to the Monthly Catalogue, or what most English journals today would call "Shorter Notices," running to nearly five hundred entries. The vast amount of research which Professor Nangle has devoted to the compilation of these lists is obvious; but it has been well rewarded, for his book will be of incalculable value to students of the eighteenth century. Especially interesting is his list of authors, for it explodes once for all the legend that Griffith's publications were the work of miserable, underpaid hack-writers who knew little about the subject on which they presumed to express an opinion. These "miserable hack writers" turn out to be some of the most eminent scholars of their day — people like Andrew Kippis, Charles Burney, George Coleman, John Aikin, David Garrick, John Langhorne and James Robertson. This fact alone goes far to vindicate Griffiths' character as an editor, and incidentally it shows us how careful we should be in accepting contemporary anecdotes for the truth, unless they are well authenticated.

Sheffield.

FREDERICK T. WOOD.

---

*Coleridge und die Kantische Philosophie; Erste Einwirkungen des deutschen Idealismus in England.* Von ELISABETH WINKELMANN. (Palaestra 184). Pp. xii + 258. Leipzig: Mayer & Müller. 1933. Rmk. 14.80.

*Die Staatsauffassung Samuel Taylor Coleridges.* Von WALDEMAR WÜNSCHE. (Palaestra 190). Pp. vi + 104. Leipzig: Mayer & Müller. 1934. Rmk. 6.

Miss Winkelmann seems to have been able to utilise only in her conclusions René Wellek's important study on *Immanuel Kant in England* (Princeton University Press, 1931) where Coleridge's relation to German philosophy in general and Kant in particular was thoroughly investigated. Wellek saw a fundamental lack of real philosophical individuality in Coleridge, quite apart

from the fragmentary character of his thought (there are fragmentary philosophers who nevertheless rank among the greatest). The whole bent of his mind led him to Plato and Platonism, to the English Platonic tradition and to the new German idealism which he felt to be deeply akin to the older thought. He struggled for a personal expression of his view of the world: yet whenever he tried to put it into conceptual form, he could not but reach for the formulas and terminology of other philosophers, whether they be Kant or Schelling or Platonizing English divines. Still Coleridge did not feel like a contaminator of different, sometimes incompatible, sources. He says in *Anima Poetae* that he omitted in his metaphysical works to acknowledge his obligations to Kant, Fichte, etc., because their thoughts "had been *his*, formed and fullformed before *he* had ever heard of these writers." He found his own ideas well expressed by others. Coleridge's case seems to bear a strong resemblance to that of Baudelaire when he discovered Poe: "J'ai vu, avec épouvante et ravissement, non seulement des sujets rêvés par moi, mais des phrases, pensées par moi, et écrites par lui, vingt ans auparavant." Perhaps the psychological study of the mechanism of such curious affinities and imagined reduplications of personality is of more consequence than the ascertainment of how Coleridge borrowed for his structure "here a storey from Kant, there a part of a room from Schelling, there a roof from Anglican theology and so on", to put it in Wellek's words. But such a study has been practically done once for ever by Prof. Lowes in his epoch-making *Road to Xanadu*, where the mechanism of Coleridge's mind is laid bare. Miss Winkelmänn, following in the footsteps of J. H. Muirhead's work on Coleridge as a philosopher, has stressed Coleridge's link with the idealistic tradition in England, which had blossomed chiefly in the Cambridge Platonists. The central problem of his thought was the distinction between reason and understanding, and this distinction he did not take from Kant, however Kant may have helped him to formulate it with more stringency: it was already implicit in Plato's *νοῦς* and *διάνοια*. For Wellek, Coleridge "instead of taking or developing Kant's ideas in the direction of a dialectical synthesis, at which Kant aims just at the most profound passages of his Critiques and which is also implied in Coleridge's criticisms of Kant, falls back into a pre-Kantian point of view, into the mere assumption of a 'pre-established harmony', a concept which is after all a simple evasion of the problem and deserts the fundamental newness of Kant's position." Miss Winkelmänn thinks that Coleridge, where he diverged from Kant in the treatment of the central problem of reason and understanding, came very near Jacobi's point of view: in fact, she perceives several affinities between Coleridge and Jacobi. Her conclusion sounds little more than a paraphrase of Muirhead's definition of Coleridge as "the reviver of the Platonic tradition and the founder of nineteenth-century Idealism in England."

Mr. Wünsche's study of Coleridge's conception of the state aims at coordinating and integrating the partial researches of previous scholars. Coleridge was not always the defender of the existing order John Stuart Mill knew. His political thought shows a deep cleavage. An early enthusiasm for the French Revolution is suddenly stamped out by Burke's influence. Mr. Wünsche follows the development of Coleridge's conservative tendencies down to their complete formulation in *Church and State* (1830). Coleridge's conception of the state shows a remarkable blend of idealism and realism. He wants all manifestations of life to be penetrated with the Christian spirit,

still he separates sharply the Christian from the political sphere; he acknowledges the necessity of the state's striving for power and tries at the same time to lay down moral standards to which politics should conform. The state, according to his view, pursues its interests in front of the rest of the world unconditionally, without much regard to morals, though with an appearance of them. As for internal politics, however, Coleridge advocates the least possible intervention of the state and free play for individual initiative. Coleridge's organic political conception is a remarkable reaction against the mechanical theories of the *Aufklärung*. He discards revolution in favour of a gradual, natural evolution of the life of the state. He has therefore a recognized position as a forerunner of what has been the main trend of English political practice during the nineteenth century.

Rome.

MARIO PRAZ.

### Brief Mention

*Cynewulf and his Poetry*. By KENNETH SISAM. Sir Israel Gollancz Memorial Lecture, British Academy, 1932. (Read 8 March 1933.) 31 pp. From the Proceedings of the British Academy, Vol. XVIII. London: Milford. 2/— net.

Mr. Sisam begins his survey of the various problems connected with his subject with the questions where and when Cynewulf wrote. The only clear evidence bearing on the former is a passage of rhyme and assonance which introduces the runic signature to *Elene*. A verse like

burh ðā mæran miht      on mōdes eaht

can be made to rhyme perfectly if the Anglian forms: *mæht-æht* are substituted. Whether Cynewulf wrote in Northumbrian or Mercian, Sisam declares himself unable to decide. A review of the spellings in the *Liber Vitae* and other pertinent evidence leads him to assign the poet to the ninth century.

To the canon of Cynewulf's works Sisam admits *St. Juliana*, *Elene*, *Fates of the Apostles*, and *The Ascension* (the second division of *Christ*). He thinks it unlikely that *Andreas* should be Cynewulf's, is fairly certain that he did not write *Judgement Day* (the third division of *Christ*), and prefers to keep an open mind about his authorship of *The Advent* (the first division). Other works that have been ascribed to Cynewulf, such as the second part of *Guthlac* and *The Dream of the Rood*, are not even mentioned.

After a consideration of the contents of Cynewulf's signed poems, his relation to his sources, and his style — "Compared with the earliest English Christian poetry it is classic, in the sense that Ælfric's prose is classic beside Alfred's" — Sisam deals with the runic signatures. That the poet took such pains to record his name must be due to his desire to be remembered in the prayers of others. Sisam discusses in detail the names and meaning of the various runes, suggesting a plausible explanation for *cæn*, *ȝr*, and *ūr*, and thus supplying a key to the probably autobiographical passage in *Elene*. A number of valuable references and notes have been added to the lecture as delivered.

Sisam's closely argued survey forms a wholesome astringent beside the more diffuse treatment of the subject in Wardale's *Chapters on Old English Literature*. A comparison with the corresponding chapter in *The Cambridge History of English Literature* shows once more the distance between that work, reprinted verbatim in 1932, and the trend of modern scholarship. — R. W. Z.

[ Bibliography in the next issue ]